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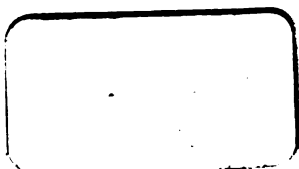
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**STUDIES
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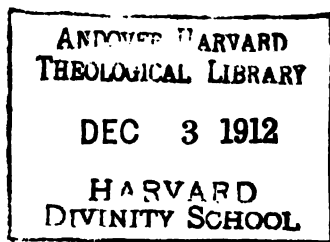
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EDITORIAL NOTE

THE Harvard Club for the Study of the History of Religions, which was founded by Professor Toy in the year 1891, intended to present to him a volume of essays on his seventy-fifth birthday, March 23, 1911. They meant thereby to express their affection for him as a man, and their appreciation of him as a leader in the field of study to which the Club is devoted. By invitation several other friends of Professor Toy not members of the Club became contributors to the work. Another friend, the Honorable Jacob Henry Schiff, assumed, with characteristic generosity, the expense of the publication.

The material of the contributions is necessarily technical, but the several writers have had a wider circle of readers in mind, and have accordingly tried to present their ideas in untechnical language.

Unforeseen difficulties have delayed the appearance of the volume. This delay is particularly regrettable in regard to two or three of the studies, but the dates appended in such cases will show when the articles were written.

In now presenting the work to our friend, and in offering it to the public, the undersigned, as spokesmen for all those who have had part in its preparation, congratulate Professor Toy on his happy achievements in his favorite field of study, and sincerely hope that many years of fruitfulness still lie before him.

DAVID GORDON LYON,
GEORGE FOOT MOORE.

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**STUDIES
IN THE HISTORY OF
RELIGIONS**

ENGLISH WITCHCRAFT AND JAMES THE FIRST

GEORGE LYMAN KITTRIDGE

Harvard University

COMMON fame makes James I. a sinister figure in the history of English witchcraft. The delusion, we are told, was dying out in the later years of Elizabeth, but James fanned the embers into a devouring flame. His coming was the signal for a violent and long-continued outburst of witch-hunting, for which he was personally responsible. He procured the repeal of the comparatively mild Elizabethan law and the enactment of a very cruel statute. He encouraged and patronized witchfinders, and was always eager for fresh victims. His reign is a dark and bloody period in the annals of this frightful superstition.

Many authorities might be adduced in support of these views, but I must rest content with quoting three writers who have had some influence in propagating them, — Mrs. Lynn Linton, Mr. Robert Steele, and Mr. G. M. Trevelyan.¹

In 1861 Mrs. E. Lynn Linton published a volume of *Witch Stories*, which was reissued in 1883 and has met with deserved favor. Mrs. Linton has no mercy on James I. His “name stands accursed for vice and cruel cowardice and the

¹ For other pronouncements of a more or less similar nature, see Sir Walter Scott, *Introduction to Potts's Discoverie, Somers Tracts*, 2d edition, 1810, 3. 95; Mrs. Lucy Aitkin, *Memoirs of the Court of King James the First*, 1822, 2. 166-167; *Retrospective Review*, 1822, 5. 90; Scott, *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*, 1830, pp. 227, 246-247; Crossley, *Introduction to Potts, Chetham Society*, 1845, pp. xix., xiv.; Thomas Wright, *Narratives of Sorcery and Magic*, 1851, 1. 284, 2. 143-144; Charles Hardwick, *History of Preston*, 1857, p. 146; P. Q. Karkeek, *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 1874, 6. 786; F. A. Inderwick, *Side-Lights on the Stuarts*, 2d ed., 1891, pp. 154-155; Horley, *History of Salford*, 1893, p. 115, note 1; H. N. Doughty, *Blackwood's Magazine*, March, 1898, 163, 388; W. R. Roper, *Materials for the History of Lancaster*, Part i, Chetham Society, 1907, pp. 26-27.

utmost selfishness of fear." ² "Treacherous, cruel, narrow-minded, and cowardly," she calls him, "beyond anything that has ever disgraced the English throne before or since." ³ He had a "mania against witches," ⁴ a "lust for witch blood." ⁵ "There was no holding in of this furious madness after James I. had got his foot in the stirrup, and was riding a race neck and neck with the Devil." ⁶ These are hard words; yet Mrs Linton knows that the beliefs which she has in mind were "rampant in England when good Queen Bess ruled the land," ⁷ and her own book contains facts enough to give us pause.

Let us take a leap of thirty-odd years and read what Mr. Robert Steele has to tell us in his article on witchcraft in the fourth volume of a well-reputed work of collaboration, *Social England*, edited by Mr. H. D. Traill:

With the accession of James a change came over the feelings of those in power. During the later years of Elizabeth tract after tract appeared, calling for severe punishment upon witches, but with no result: the English trials, up to now, had been characterised rather by folly than ferocity, the new rule was marked by ferocious folly. For forty years Scotland had been engaged in witch-hunting, with the result that 8000 human beings are believed to have been burnt between 1560 and 1600; and for the last ten years of the century the king had been at the head of the hunt. . . . In the first Parliament of James the more merciful Act of Elizabeth was repealed; a new and exhaustive one was enacted. . . . Under this Act 70,000 persons were executed up to 1680.⁸

I stand aghast at these figures. There is no sense or reason in them. No records have been published or examined which would justify the assertion that *a seventieth part* of this monstrous number met their death in the period named. As for the time from the passage of the act of 1604 till the death of James in 1625, Mr. Steele would find it hard to make out an average of more than two or three executions a year. I half suspect that he has got hold of some statistics of mortality from the plague.

Mr. Trevelyan is vaguer, but no less emphatic: "The skeptical Elizabeth, perhaps with some pity for her sex, had refused to yield when the pamphlet press called on the Gov-

² Ed. 1861, p. 20.

³ Pp. 259-260.

⁴ P. 259.

⁵ P. 261.

⁶ P. 195.

⁷ P. 195.

⁸ 4. 85-86.

ernment to enact fiercer laws 'not suffering a witch to live.' The outburst came with the accession of a Scottish King, who, though he rejected the best part of the spirit of Knox, was crazed beyond his English subjects with the witchmania of Scotland and the continent. His first Parliament enacted new death-laws; at once the Judges and magistrates, the constables and the mob, began to hunt up the oldest and ugliest spinster who lived with her geese in the hut on the common, or tottered about the village street mumbling the inaudible soliloquies of second childhood." ⁹ In this witch-hunt, Mr. Trevelyan tells us, "learning, headed by the pedant King, was master of the hounds." ¹⁰

So much for the current opinion. ¹¹ Let us try to discover to what extent it is justified by the facts. And first we must consider two things that have created an enormous prejudice against King James, — his Scottish record and his authorship of the *Dæmonologie*.

The history of witchcraft in Scotland is a difficult subject, and it is particularly hard to determine just what degree of responsibility attaches to King James. To sift the matter thoroughly would require much time and space. Still, a few facts are patent. (1) James did not make the Scottish law of witchcraft. The statute was enacted in 1563, before he was born. (2) He did not teach the Scottish nation the witch creed. That creed was the heritage of the human race, and was nowhere less questioned by all classes and all professions than in Scotland, where, indeed, it survived in full vigor for more than a century after James was dead. (3) The worst period of Scottish prosecution does not fall in his reign. The three great prosecutions were in 1590–1597, in 1640–1650, and in 1660–1663. The second was worse than the first, and the third (which began with the Restoration) was the worst of all. (4) James did not initiate the prosecutions of 1590. ¹²

⁹ England under the Stuarts [1904], p. 32.

¹⁰ P. 33.

¹¹ A brief but powerful vindication of King James was inserted by William Gifford in his edition of Ford (1. clxxi., Dyce's revision, 1869, 3. 276; cf. *Quarterly Review*, 41. 80–82), but it has attracted little attention. See also Disraeli's *Character of James the First* (*Miscellanies of Literature*, N.Y., 1841, 3. 355–360).

¹² See particularly Mr. F. Legge's paper on Witchcraft in Scotland, in *The Scottish Review* for October, 1891 (18. 257–288).

Upon this last point we must dwell for a moment. In 1583, when James was a boy of seventeen, the Scottish clergy called for a sharper enforcement of the law. In 1590 began the trials of John Fian and his associates, with which the name of the king is indissolubly connected. It seems quite clear that these trials were not James's own idea. His intellectual curiosity — well known to be one of his most salient characteristics — led him to attend the examinations. But he was not naturally credulous in such matters (as we shall see later), he found the confessions beyond belief, and he pronounced the witches "extreame lyars." When, however, Agnes Sampson, to convince him, repeated in his private ear a conversation that he had held with the queen on the marriage-night, he "acknowledged her words to bee most true, and therefore gaue the more credit" to their stories.¹³ It makes little difference what we think of this feat of Agnes Sampson's: the value of the anecdote lies in the light it throws on the king's skepticism. Agnes also implicated the Earl of Bothwell in a charge of witchcraft against the king's life. James's dislike and fear of Bothwell are notorious; they appear in a striking passage of the *Basilikon Doron*.¹⁴ He looked on Bothwell as his evil genius and was ever ready to listen to anything to his discredit. Chancellor Maitland, who was Bothwell's enemy, had the king's confidence.¹⁵ Numerous executions followed, and the great prosecution of 1590-1597 was now under way. It had started, however, not with James, but, as usual, among obscure persons. The king had simply become involved in the affair. No doubt he countenanced the general witch-hunt that followed; but he cannot be said to have encouraged it, for no encouragement was needed. The clergy were eager, and the people lived in constant terror of witches. If ever there was a spontaneous popular panic, this was such an outbreak. James and his Council had only to let the forces work. And, indeed, it seems pretty certain that they had no power to stem the current. Mr. Andrew Lang, who censures the king,

¹³ *Newes from Scotland*, 1591, sig. B 2 (Roxburghe Club reprint).

¹⁴ 1599, Roxburghe Club reprint, p. 97.

¹⁵ Spottiswoode, *History of the Church of Scotland*, Bannatyne Club, 2. 412; Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, 1. 230, 240, note; Legge, *Scottish Review*, 18. 262.

says in plain terms that he "could not have controlled the preachers."¹⁶ Add to this the testimony of Pitcairn, a hostile witness, that the period from 1591 to 1596 was distinguished by "open defiance of the King and Parliament, and by the frequent and daring conspiracies enterprised against the Royal person."¹⁷ Altogether, it does not appear that James is to blame for the events of 1590-1597, or that the prosecution proves him either exceptionally credulous or exceptionally devoted to witch-hunting. If a whole nation believes in witchcraft, outbreaks of prosecution (like other outbreaks) are likely to happen whenever there are troublous times. This has been seen over and over again, — in the tumult of the English Civil War, for instance, and just after the Revolution, and in our own Salem at a critical moment in New England history.¹⁸ James was not riding the storm like Odin. He was only a mortal man, swept off his feet by the tide.

Whether these considerations are just or not, one thing is certain — by 1597 James was convinced that matters had gone too far. Indictments were piling upon indictments, there was no telling the innocent from the guilty, and no end was in sight. Commissions of justiciary for witchcraft were being held throughout Scotland, and the king, by a stroke of the pen, revoked them all.¹⁹ It is noteworthy that the proximate cause of his action was the discovery that many denunciations were fraudulent. Compare James's incredulity at the outset, and the skill which he showed later in life (as we shall see presently) in detecting similar impostures. From 1597 to James's accession to the English throne in 1603, there were abundant witch-trials in Scotland, but the annual number of executions was much smaller, and there is no reason to suppose that the king pressed for more. When he succeeded to the English crown, the intensity of the Scottish witch-quest had ceased, by his own act, and that period was associated in his mind with a time of anarchy. England looked to him like a haven of rest. He was certainly

¹⁶ History of Scotland, 2. 353.

¹⁷ Criminal Trials, 1. 357.

¹⁸ See Kittredge, Notes on Witchcraft, 1907, pp. 64-65.

¹⁹ Privy Council Register, 5. 409-410; Spottiswoode, 3. 66-67; Legge, p. 264; Lang, History of Scotland, 2. 433.

thinking of other matters than witches when he came into the promised land.

So much for the first of the two things that have led men to approach James's English witch record with a prejudiced opinion. Let us pass to the second,—his authorship of the *Dæmonologie*.

The importance of King James's *Dæmonologie* has been greatly exaggerated, both as to its bearing on his supposed career as a prosecutor and as to its effect on English sentiment in his time. The book is a confession of faith, not an autobiography. It is proof of what James *thought*, not of what he *did*. The publication of the *Dæmonologie* did not cause the death of any Scottish witches, either directly or indirectly. Nor did it convert a single Scottish skeptic, for there were none to convert. The book did not appear until 1597, — the very year in which James, by a stroke of the pen, checked the great prosecution that had been going since 1590. As to England, the case against the *Dæmonologie* is pitifully weak. The treatise, though well-constructed and compendious, is not original. It adduces neither new facts nor new arguments. Mr. Gardiner is perfectly right when he says that James "had only echoed opinions which were accepted freely by the multitude, and were tacitly admitted without inquiry by the first intellects of the day."²⁰ Certainly there is no reason to think that the *Dæmonologie* had any appreciable effect on English sentiment.

I am well aware that King James's *Dæmonologie* was re-issued in London in 1603. But this was a mere bookselling speculation,²¹ like the Latin translation by Germberg that appeared at Hanover in 1604.²² There is no parade about the volume, no hint that it was published at the king's instance. Contrast the circumstances attending the publica-

²⁰ History of England, 1603–1642, 7. 322–323 (1899).

²¹ John Hawarde (born about 1571) makes a curious note in his manuscript, *Les Reportes del Cases in Camera Stellata* (ed. Baildon, pp. 179–180): "Nothinge now was talked of but the religion, vertue, wisdom, learninge, Justice, & manye other most noble & woorthye prayeses of K. James, . . . his booke new printed, (*Βασιλικον δογων*, Freen monarchies, Monologie, Expositions upon the Reuelacions & the Kings, the Lepanto)."

²² There are two London editions of 1603. See the details in Ferguson, *Publications of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, 3. 51.

tion of the *Basilikon Doron* in the same year. This had been privately printed in 1599. When it came before the public in 1603, there was a long, defensive preface, entirely new, in which the king exerted himself to stand well with his English subjects.²³ James, as we have already remarked, had other things than witchcraft to occupy his thoughts when he mounted the English throne. If it can be shown that he immediately engaged in a campaign for new witch-laws or for more vigorous prosecution, then we may regard the *Dæmonologie* of 1603 as a campaign document. But first one must show that he did engage in any such campaign; otherwise the question is begged. And, as we shall soon discover, he did nothing of the kind.

Clearly, then, we must study the witch law and the witch-trials of James's English reign on the basis, not of prejudice, but of evidence. And first we may consider the Statute of 1604.

The current ideas about the English laws against witchcraft are very inaccurate. For these misapprehensions Thomas Wright is in large part responsible. His learned and interesting *Narratives of Sorcery and Magic*, which has enjoyed a deserved popularity for more than fifty years, is surprisingly loose in its statements about legal history.

"The first act in the statute-book against witchcraft," says Wright, "was passed in the thirty-third year of Henry VIII., A.D. 1541, whereby this supposed crime was made felony without benefit of clergy."²⁴ So far he is quite correct, except for the year of our Lord, which should be 1542. "In 1547," he adds, "when the power was entirely in the hands of the religious reformers under Edward VI., his father's law against witchcraft was repealed." This assertion, though technically indisputable, is rather misleading. The act to which Wright refers (1 Edward VI., c. 12) does

²³ See the Roxburghe Club reprint of the 1599 edition. On the attention which the *Basilikon Doron* attracted, see *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1603-1607*, pp. 10, 65.

²⁴ *Narratives of Sorcery and Magic*, 1851, I. 279. See also the authors cited above (p. 1, note 1). The account of the laws given by Mr. James Williams in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (9th ed., 24. 620-621) is above the average, but not free from errors. There are serious mistakes in Mr. Robert Steele's summary in *Traill's Social England*, 3. 326.

not once mention sorcery, magic, or witchcraft. The third section wipes out of the statute-book "all offences made felony by any act or acts of Parliament, statute or statutes, made sithence the xxiiiith day of April in the first year of the reign of the said late King Henry theight, not being felony before." Among these offences was witchcraft.

Wright's next statement is highly objectionable. It amounts to a serious, though inadvertent, *suppressio veri*. "Under Elizabeth," he avers, "in 1562 [this should be 1563], a new act was passed against witchcraft, punishing the first conviction only with exposure in the pillory."²⁵ Now the truth is that Elizabeth's law was much severer than one would infer from these words. It fixes the death penalty (1) for all who "use, practise, or exercise invocations or conjurations of evil and wicked spirits to or for any intent or purpose," quite irrespective of the result of such invocations or conjurations, and (2) for all who practise witchcraft that causes a person's death. Under the former provision—to take a good example—Edmund Hartlay lost his life in Lancashire in 1597. He was a professed conjurer, and had been employed to relieve the children of Mr. Nicholas Starkie, who were thought to be possessed with devils. Hartlay caught the hysterical affection himself and was tormented in like manner. "The next day, beinge recouered, he went into a little wood, not farr from the house, where he maide a circle about a yarde and halfe wyde, deuinding it into 4. partes, making a crosse at every diuision: and when he had finished his worke, he came to *M. Starchie* and desiered him to go and tread out the circle, saying, I may not treade it out my selfe, and further, I will meete with them that went about my death,"²⁶ — that is, in effect, I wish to raise the devils that tried to kill me yesterday. There were other charges against Hartlay, but none of a capital nature. "The making of his circle was chefly his ouerthrowe."²⁷ He denied the fact, but, the rope breaking, confessed it before he died.²⁸

²⁵ Narratives, 1. 279.

²⁶ John Darrel, *A True Narration*, etc., 1600, p. 1.

²⁷ Darrel, p. 7.

²⁸ Another case occurred in 1580. William Randall was hanged for conjuring to discover hidden treasure and stolen goods. Four others were tried for aiding and abetting, and three of them were sentenced to death, but reprieved. The trial

Furthermore, the Elizabethan statute provided that "witchcraft, enchantment, charm, or sorcery" which caused bodily injury to human beings or damage to goods or chattels should be punished with a year's imprisonment (with quarterly exposure in the pillory) for the first offence, and *with death for the second offence*. And finally, the statute provided imprisonment and the pillory, with *life imprisonment* for the second offence, for all who should "take upon" themselves to reveal the whereabouts of hidden treasure or of lost or stolen goods, or should practise witchcraft with intent to provoke unlawful love or to "hurt or destroy any person in his or her body, member, or goods." It must now be manifest how unduly Wright extenuates the grimness of Elizabeth's law.

Thus we reach the reign of James I. In his second year was passed the statute of 1604, which remained in force until 1736. The relation of this act to the statute of Elizabeth, which it repealed, becomes a matter of great importance to determine. Here Wright leaves us in the lurch. James, he tells us, "passed a new and severe law against witchcraft,"²⁹ in which it now became almost a crime to disbelieve."³⁰ We are led to infer that, whereas Elizabeth's law was mild and hardly objectionable, James's statute was both novel and severe. The facts are quite different. James's statute follows Elizabeth's in the main, even in phraseology. (1) The new statute (like the old) provides death as the penalty for *invocation or conjuration of evil spirits* for any purpose and without regard to the issue. But it inserts two clauses making it also felony to "consult, covenant with, entertain, employ, feed, or reward" any such spirit for any purpose,

was held at the King's Bench (Holinshed, 4. 433). An excessively curious case is that of a woman tried by the mayor of Faversham, Kent, in 1586. The court and jury were convinced that she was not guilty of witchcraft. In order to clear her of the capital charge, a verdict of guilty of invocation and conjuration was brought in. The mayor was about to congratulate the defendant on escaping with her life, when the legal adviser of the corporation informed him that invocation and conjuration amounted to felony, and she was hanged accordingly. Full details are given by John Waller in Holinshed, 4. 891-893.

²⁹ 1. 284.

³⁰ As to this latter dictum, it is instructive to observe that in 1578 one Dr. Browne was in trouble because he "spread misliking of the laws, by saying there are no witches" (Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Addenda, 1566-1579, p. 551).

or to dig up any dead body, or part thereof, for use in sorcery. (2) For *witchcraft that kills*, death is the penalty (as in the Elizabethan enactment). (3) For *witchcraft that causes bodily harm*, but does not kill, the new law imposes death for the *first* (instead of the *second*) offence. (4) For the *minor varieties* of sorcery and witchcraft, *death* is substituted for *life imprisonment* as the penalty for the second offence.³¹ Clearly the statute of 1604 is not so great a novelty as we have been led to think. It is, to be sure, more severe than the Elizabethan enactment, but only in some respects. Let us study the two a little further.

The substitution of *death* for *life imprisonment* as the penalty for the second offence in certain minor grades of sorcery can hardly be called an increase in severity. The appalling state of the prisons is notorious. There was a dreadful outbreak of jail fever at the Oxford assizes in 1579,³² and another at the Exeter assizes in 1586.³³ Prisoners often died while awaiting trial or execution. In 1608 the Earl of Northampton, as Warden of the Cinque Ports, induced the mayor of Rye to admit to bail a woman condemned to death for aiding and abetting a witch. Her execution had been stayed, and it was feared that she would succumb to the "loathsomness of the prison."³⁴ Under such conditions, the change from a life-sentence to hanging was rather mercy than rigor.

The penalty for digging up the dead (unknown to the Elizabethan law) was not excessive, in view of the general severity of the penal code. The thing was certainly done now and then. It was a real — not an imaginary — crime, and deserved punishment. However, no case has ever been cited in which a man or woman was put to death for this

³¹ There is some difference between the two statutes in defining the minor varieties, but it is slight and not in the direction of severity.

³² See the extraordinary passage in Webster's *Displaying of Supposed Witchcraft*, 1677, pp. 245-246.

³³ Walsingham to Leicester (Leicester Correspondence, Camden Society, p. 24); Hooker (alias Vowell), in Holinshed, 4. 868; Thomas Cogan, *The Haven of Heath*, 1589, pp. 272 ff. See also an important paper on the Black Assizes in the West, by F. Wilcocks, M.D., in *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 16. 595 ff. For Vowell, see Charles Worthy, in the same *Transactions*, 14. 631 ff. (cf. 11. 442 ff.).

³⁴ 13th Report of the Commission on Historical MSS., Appendix, Part iv., pp. 139-140.

offence alone, and we may therefore disregard that clause as of no practical effect.

As for the new provision about consulting or covenanting with evil spirits, or feeding them, it was capable of operating with great severity. In fact, however, I do not believe that a single case can be found during James's reign in which anybody suffered death under this clause who was not otherwise liable to the extreme penalty.³⁵

There remains, then, one change in the law, and only one, — death for the *first* (instead of the *second*) offence in witchcraft that injures the body without killing, — to justify the common opinion that James's statute of 1604 was so stern an enactment as to make an era in English witch-prosecution.

At the outset, candor impels us to inquire whether James's statute was really severe at all. Our judgment must be based, not on our present penal code, but on that of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. When death was the penalty for stealing a sheep, or breaking into a house, or taking a purse on the highway, or stealing thirteenpence, was it harsh to hang a witch for driving her neighbor mad or smiting him with epilepsy or paralysis? ³⁶ To object that witches could not do such things is no answer. This objection might hold against the passing of *any law whatever*, but has nothing to do with the question of *severity*. It is quite as silly to fine or imprison a man for an impossible crime as to hang him for it. However, we may waive this point, for we are more directly concerned with the question whether James's law was so much severer than Elizabeth's as to make its passage a momentous event. This is to be tested, of course, by observing how the two laws worked, not by weighing their words.

To get the perspective, let us look at one of the most no-

³⁵ A possible exception is Susan Swapper, of Rye. She was condemned in 1607, but I cannot find that she was ever executed. The case is exceedingly curious (see Commission on Historical MSS., 18th Report, Appendix, Part iv., pp. 136-137, 139-140, 144, 147-148). For what happened after 1643, when James had been in his grave a score of years, it is absurdly cruel to hold him accountable.

³⁶ Cf. the observations of Mr. J. W. Brodie-Innes in his interesting brochure on Scottish Witchcraft Trials, pp. 21-24. (Privately Printed Opuscula issued to Members of the Sette of Odd Volumes, No. 25, 1891.)

torious of Elizabethan cases, that of St. Osyth in Essex. One Ursula (or Ursley) Kempe, alias Grey, was a woman of ill repute, who lived, with Thomas Rabbet, her bastard son, in the little village of St. Osith's (now St. Osyth), near Colchester. She had long lain under suspicion of witchcraft. There was sickness in the family of a neighbor, Grace Thurlowe, and Grace fancied that Ursula was to blame. The local magistrate, Brian Darcey, lent a ready ear to her complaint. Witnesses came forward in abundance, and one revelation led to another, as usual. Thomas Rabbet gave evidence against his mother. Ursula confessed her crimes, with many tears. A whole nest of offenders was uncovered, and, in conclusion, no less than thirteen witches were convicted. This was in 1582.³⁷ The affair made a great noise, and appears to have been the chief immediate impulse to Reginald Scot's famous book, *The Discovery of Witchcraft*.

Of the thirteen persons convicted on this occasion, all but three were found guilty of "bewitching to death," and consequently suffered the extreme penalty under the statute of Elizabeth. James's statute would have hanged the other three as well. To this extent, and to this extent alone, would it have operated more severely than its predecessor.

The St. Osyth tragedy took place about twenty years before James I. succeeded to the English crown. Will it be believed, in the face of the vehement denunciation to which this king is traditionally subjected as a besotted persecutor, that nothing comparable to it occurred in his reign until 1612, when he had been on the throne for nine years? Yet such is the indisputable fact.

An analysis of these Lancashire trials of 1612, on the basis of Thomas Potts's official narrative, yields the following results. Nineteen persons were tried, of whom eight were acquitted. Of the eleven convicted, one (whose offence was the killing of a mare) was sentenced to the pillory. This leaves ten who were hanged.³⁸ Six of these were indicted

³⁷ Linton, *Witch Stories*, 1861, pp. 205-221 (from the original narrative by W.W., — *A True and Iust Recorde*, etc., 1582).

³⁸ *The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster*. . . . Together with the Arraignement and Triall of Iennet Preston, at . . . Yorke, London, 1613. Cf. *Farington Papers*, Chetham Society, 1856, p. 27. One other died before trial.

for murder by witchcraft, and therefore would have suffered death under Elizabeth's law as surely as under James's. Four, then, were executed who might have got off with imprisonment if the older statute had remained in force. But it is by no means certain that all of the four would actually have escaped the gallows. For there was evidence of murder by witchcraft against two of them, and they might have been tried on that charge if the lesser accusation of driving a woman insane had not sufficed to send them out of the world. There remain but two, therefore, of the eleven convicted, who, so far as we can see, would have been in no danger of death under Elizabethan conditions. And one of these exemptions may be balanced by the case of the woman sent to the pillory for killing a mare, inasmuch as there was testimony that she too had confessed to a couple of murders, so that the prosecutors might have found an excuse for hanging her, even under Elizabeth's statute, if they had so desired. In the same year, Jennet Preston was hanged at York. She was convicted of murder by witchcraft, and would have suffered death by Elizabeth's law. Likewise in 1612, there was an outbreak of prosecution in Northamptonshire, which ended in the execution of five persons. Every one of these, however, had been found guilty of murder by witchcraft.²⁰ Hence their fate under the statute of James was precisely what it would have been if Elizabeth's statute of 1563 had never been supplanted.

Two facts of immense significance are now clear: first, that James's accession was not the signal for an outbreak of witch prosecution, for he had been on the throne for nine years before any such outbreak occurred; second, that the statute of 1604 was not appreciably more severe, in its practical working in 1612, than the Elizabethan statute would have been at the same time if it had continued in force.

Before leaving the events of 1612, however, we must inquire whether James had any hand in the prosecutions. The answer is unequivocal. There is not a particle of evidence that he either suggested or encouraged the trials, or, indeed, that he ever heard of the cases until the defendants had been

²⁰ *The Witches of Northamptonshire, 1612* (reprint, 1867).

hanged. A contrary view is sometimes expressed with regard to the Lancaster trials,⁴⁰ but there is no foundation for it. The source of the error is nothing more or less than William Harrison Ainsworth's romance entitled *The Lancashire Witches*. This was published in 1849, and appears to have proved more entertaining to some historians than the study of authentic documents.

One of Ainsworth's most amusing characters is Master Thomas Potts, a London lawyer. Potts happens to be in Lancashire on legal business, and, on coming into contact with the rumors and petty intrigues of the neighborhood, grasps the chance to ingratiate himself with King James by gathering evidence and fomenting prosecution. "So there are suspected witches in Pendle Forest, I find," says Master Potts; "I shall make it my business to institute inquiries concerning them, when I visit the place to-morrow. Even if merely ill-reputed, they must be examined, and if found innocent cleared; if not, punished according to the statute. Our sovereign lord the king holdeth witches in especial abhorrence, and would gladly see all such noxious vermin extirpated from the land, and it will rejoice me to promote his laudable designs. . . . He is never so pleased as when the truth of his tenets are proved by such secret offenders being brought to light, and duly punished."⁴¹ And again:—"If I can unearth a pack of witches, I shall gain much credit from my honourable good lords the judges of assize . . . , besides pleasing the King himself, who is sure to hear of it, and reward my praiseworthy zeal."⁴²

Ainsworth is quite within his rights as a novelist, but we should not read him as if he were an historian. Potts had nothing to do with getting up the evidence or fomenting the prosecution. He was a London lawyer, or law-writer, who acted as clerk at the Lancaster assizes. Probably he was accompanying the justices on their circuit. At the instance of these justices, as we know, he prepared an official narrative, which was published in 1613 after revision by one of them (Sir Edward Bromley). The king is mentioned only once in this

⁴⁰ See, for example, Horley, *Sefton*, 1893, p. 115, note 1; Roper, *Materials for the History of Lancaster*, Part i., Chetham Society, 1907, pp. 26-27.

⁴¹ 1. 199-200.

⁴² 1. 207 (cf. 1. 244, 247).

tract (except, of course, in legal formulas), and that in passing : "What hath the Kings Maiestie written and published in his *Dæmonologie*, by way of premonition and preuention, which hath not here by the first or last beene executed, put in practise or discouered." ⁴³ If James had known anything about the case, Potts would surely have brought him in.

But we are not done with Ainsworth's contributions to history. In the third volume of the romance he introduces King James in person, talking broad Scots, profoundly impressed by the evidence, causing the witches to be brought into his presence, and urging on the prosecution. These scenes occur while he is the guest of Sir Richard Hoghton at Hoghton Tower.⁴⁴ All this is very good fiction indeed. But it should not pass as history. The Pendle witches were hanged in August, 1612. James made a progress that summer, but not in Lancashire. His visit to Hoghton Tower was five years later, in August, 1617.⁴⁵

Ainsworth wrote *The Lancashire Witches* at the suggestion of Mr. James Crossley, to whom he dedicated it. Mr. Crossley was an admirable antiquary, and the world is in his debt for a first-rate edition of Potts's *Discoverie* and for many other things. But, though very learned in the literature of witchcraft, he was far astray in his estimate of James's attitude and in other pertinent matters. He ignores the Elizabethan statute and lays stress on that of James, "enacted," he avers, "as the adulatory tribute of all parties, against which no honest voice was raised, to the known opinions of the monarch."⁴⁶ Mr. Crossley could not fail to observe that the passage of the "execrable statute" of 1604 was not followed by an instant fury of prosecution. He knew well that eight years elapsed before anything took place that was at all notable. And this is how he expresses himself: the statute, he suggests, "might have been sharpening its appetite by a temporary fast for the full meal of blood by which it was eventually glutted."⁴⁷ This is not merely personification, — it is pure mythology.

⁴³ Potts, *Wonderfull Discoverie*, sig. T2.

⁴⁴ 3. 241 ff.

⁴⁵ *Journal of Nicholas Aasheton*, ed. Raines, Chetham Society, 1848, pp. 32 ff.

⁴⁶ Introduction to his reprint of Potts, Chetham Society, vol. 6, p. xviii.

⁴⁷ Introduction to Potts, p. xlv.

The plain and simple truth is this: During the twenty-two years of James's reign (1603-1625), there was no more excitement on the subject of witchcraft, and there were no more executions, than during the last twenty-two years of Elizabeth (1581-1603).⁴⁸ James's accession was not in any sense the signal for an outburst of prosecution. As we have just noted, the first bad year was 1612, when he had been on the throne for almost a decade. It is certain that the statute of 1604 was not more severe, in its practical workings, than the statute of Elizabeth.⁴⁹ Nor can a single fact be brought forward to prove that James was eager, during his English reign, to multiply the number of victims.

We must now examine the prevalent opinion that the statute of 1604 was passed to please King James or at his instance, or, indeed, that he wrote the bill himself. Most readers will be surprised to learn that not a particle of direct evidence has ever been adduced in favor of any of these propositions. They rest entirely upon assumption or inference. The earliest testimony that I can discover⁵⁰ is Hutchinson's, in 1718, — more than a century late; and Hutchinson, *more suo*, is commendably cautious. He does not profess to have any authority for his views. "I cannot forbear thinking" — such are his words — "that it was the King's Book and Judgment, more than any Encrease of Witches, that influenc'd the Parliament to the changing the Old Law."⁵¹ And again, "I cannot but think, that if King *James* himself was not the first Mover and Director in this change of the Statute, yet there might probably be a Design of making Court to the King by it."⁵² He frankly labels his theory "the best Guess I can make."⁵³ The "juryman "

⁴⁸ Exact figures are unattainable, but the records are quite as trustworthy for 1603-1625 as for 1581-1603. It is altogether unlikely that a complete scrutiny would bring to light more new cases of execution for the later period than for the earlier.

⁴⁹ That is, not more severe during James's reign. For what occurred long after the king's death, he cannot be blamed.

⁵⁰ It is to be hoped that what Thomas Cooper says in *The Myserie of Witchcraft*, 1617, p. 7, will not be taken as evidence in favor of the current view. Heretofore it has not been so utilized.

⁵¹ *Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft*, 1718, p. 179 (ed. 1720, p. 224).

⁵² P. 180. Here Hutchinson is referring to a particular part of the statute (about the violation of graves).

⁵³ P. 178.

(his interlocutor in the dialogue) accepts the theory: "I am the apter to believe this Account; because I have often heard, that our Law did come from thence," that is, from Scotland along with the new king.⁵⁴ Dr. William Harris, in his account of James I. (1753), follows Hutchinson, whom he cites, remarking that the statute was "formed out of compliment (as has been well conjectured)." ⁵⁵ Scott, in 1810, follows Hutchinson, remarking that the statute "probably had its rise in the complaisance of James's first Parliament." ⁵⁶ By 1829 the tradition had hardened considerably, so that a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* asserted that James "is said to have penned [the statute] himself." ⁵⁷ So much for the external evidence, — now for the probabilities.

In the first place, the text of the statute is sufficient proof that James did not draft it himself. For it is *not a new law*. It follows, in the main, the Elizabethan statute word for word. At the utmost, James can be suspected of penning only a few phrases. This part of the charge we may therefore dismiss without ceremony. But what of the view that James fathered or fostered the bill, that it was introduced at his instance, or passed with an eye to his favor? Was there, or was there not, such a state of public opinion in England as will account for the statute without our having recourse to the conjecture that it was passed under James's influence or out of complaisance to him?

If this were merely a question of the rank and file of the people, there would be no room for argument. The last few years of Elizabeth's reign abounded in witch prosecutions and were marked by intense popular excitement on the subject. A typical outbreak was that in Devon in 1601 and 1602, when the Trevisard family was complained of before Sir Thomas Ridgeway.⁵⁸ But we are now occupied with the lawmakers, who, though constantly exposed to pressure from the populace, may conceivably have preferred the *status quo*. Was there, or was there not, before James's accession, a

⁵⁴ P. 180.

⁵⁵ Pp. 40-41.

⁵⁶ Somers Tracts, 2d edition, S. 95.

⁵⁷ In a series of articles on the Rise and Progress of Witchcraft, containing much valuable material. *Gentleman's Magazine Library*, Popular Superstitions, p. 238.

⁵⁸ See the original examinations (inedited) in the Harvard College Library.

movement among the better educated classes for a revision of the law and a sharpening of the penalties? To test this question, we may consult four well-known treatises which are seldom scrutinized from this point of view. We will begin with Perkins's Discourse.

William Perkins, the eminent theologian, born in 1558, was Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, from 1584 to 1594. He died in 1602, leaving behind him *A Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft*, which was published in 1608 by Thomas Pickering, B.D. of Cambridge, and Minister of Finchingfield, Essex. Pickering dedicated the volume to Coke. Though not issued in the author's lifetime, this treatise is good evidence as to what the views of learned Englishmen were at the turn of the century. Nor was it without influence before Perkins died, for, as the title-page sets forth, the discourse was "framed and delivered" by him "in his ordinarie course of Preaching." It came from the press of the Cambridge University Printer.

Perkins's book is a masterpiece. It is cogently reasoned, and marked by that concise and simple style for which this author was distinguished above his contemporaries. We may shudder at his opinions, but are forced to admire his candor and ability. Perkins warns his readers against convicting on slender evidence. His virile and methodical intellect draws the line sharply between presumptions that justify suspicion, and proofs that warrant a verdict of guilty.⁵⁹ Certain superstitious popular tests he rejects utterly, — such as scratching the witch, and firing the thatch of her cottage, and the ordeal by swimming.⁶⁰ Some of these, he declares, "if not all, are after a sort practises of Witchcraft, hauing in them no power or vertue to detect a Sorcerer, either by Gods ordinance in the creation, or by any speciall appointment since." In scouting the water ordeal, Perkins may have had his eye upon King James's defence of it in the *Dæmonologie*. "It appeares," the king had written, "that God hath appointed (for a supernaturall signe of the monstrous impietie of Witches) that the water shall refuse to receiue them in her bosome, that haue shaken off

⁵⁹ Pp. 200 ff.

⁶⁰ Pp. 206 ff.

them the sacred Water of Baptisme, and wilfully refused the benefite thereof." ⁶¹ Note the brevity and force of Perkins's refutation:—"To iustifie the casting of a Witch into the water, it is alledged, that hauing made a couenant with the deuill, shee hath renounced her Baptisme, and hereupon there growes an Antipathie betweene her, and water. *Ans.* This allegation serues to no purpose: for all water is not the water of Baptisme, but that onely which is vsed in the very act of Baptisme, and not before nor after. The element out of the vse of the Sacrament, is no Sacrament, but returnes again to his common vse." ⁶² Let us remark, in passing, that Thomas Pickering, a beneficed clergyman, did not hesitate to publish this unceremonious denial of the king's argument in 1608, when James had been five years on the throne, and to dedicate the work which contains it to Chief Justice Coke. This may serve to correct, *pro tanto*, the too prevalent opinion that James I. expected his English subjects to receive his *Dæmonologie* as but little, if at all, inferior in authority to the Holy Scriptures.

Our immediate concern, however, is with the general tendency of Perkins's treatise, and in particular with his precepts as to punishment. He admits the witch dogma in its entirety. The ground of all sorcery is a league or covenant with the devil, which may be either express or implicit. There are two kinds of witchcraft, — namely, divining and working. ⁶³ The second class includes the raising of storms, the poisoning of the air (which brings pestilence), the blasting of corn, "the procuring of strange passions and torments in mens bodies and other creatures, with the curing of the same." ⁶⁴ It is an error to hold that melancholia so deludes women that they imagine themselves witches when indeed they are none. Perhaps, after the witch has made her contract with the fiend, she may credit herself with imaginary powers, but the wonders already enumerated she can certainly perform, with Satan's aid. ⁶⁵ Thus Perkins opposes himself squarely to Wierus and Scot. His refutation of their theories is solid and convincing, if we

⁶¹ London, Printed for William Apsley and W. Cotton, 1603, p. 80 (misprinted, "64").

⁶² P. 208.

⁶³ P. 55.

⁶⁴ P. 128.

⁶⁵ Pp. 191-196.

admit what nobody dreamt of denying, — the existence of evil spirits. His book, indeed, may be taken as a measure of the slight effect which these dissentients had produced on the minds of sixteenth-century Englishmen.

As to the law against witchcraft, Perkins is an invaluable witness. He wrote when the Elizabethan statute was in force, and he was of course not under the sway of King James of Scotland, with whose theories, indeed, we have seen him at outspoken variance. Perkins believes that the law of Moses should continue in force, and that "all Witches beeing thoroughly conuicted by the Magistrate," should be put to death.⁶⁶ He expressly declares that this punishment ought to be inflicted not only upon those who kill by means of witchcraft, but upon all witches without any exception whatever, — upon "all Diuiners, Charmers, Iuglers, all Wizzards, commonly called wise men and wise women." He includes in plain terms all so-called "good Witches, which doe no hurt but good, which doe not spoile and destroy, but saue and deliver." Here he uses a really unanswerable argument, which shows in the most striking fashion how ill-equipped we are, with our mild penal laws, to sit in judgment on the severity — whether actual or comparative — of the Jacobean statute. "By the lawes of England," writes Perkins, "the thiefe is executed for stealing, and we think it iust and profitable: but it were a thousand times better for the land, if all Witches, but specially the blessing Witch might suffer death. For the thiefe by his stealing, and the hurtfull Inchanter by charming, bring hinderance and hurt to the bodies and goods of men; but these are the right hand of the deuill, by which he taketh and destroyeth the soules of men. Men doe commonly hate and spit at the damnifying Sorcerer, as vnworthie to liue among them; whereas the other is so deare vnto them, that they hold themselues and their countrey blessed that haue him among them, they flie vnto him in necessitie, they depend vpon him as their god, and by this meanes, thousands are carried away to their finall confusion. Death therefore is the iust and deserued por-

⁶⁶ P. 247.

tion of the good Witch." These are the closing words of Perkins's weighty treatise.⁶⁷

Perkins was a vital force in forming English opinion while he was alive, especially during the last decade of the sixteenth century and at the beginning of the seventeenth. Few Cambridge lecturers were more authoritative, and Cambridge was in close contact with public men. He "was buried with great solemnity at the sole charges of *Christs Colledge*, the University and Town striving which should expresse more sorrow at his Funeral; Doctor *Montague* Preached his Funeral Sermon upon that Text, *Moses my Servant is dead.*"⁶⁸ This was James Montagu, first Master of Sidney Sussex College, afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells (1608) and of Winchester (1616). Bishop Hall, who was at Cambridge while Perkins was active, commends him warmly. "A worthy divine," he calls him, "whose labors are of much note and use in the Church of God."⁶⁹ Fuller is also among his admirers.⁷⁰ How the Discourse worked when its substance was orally delivered "in his ordinarie course of preaching" may be inferred from the respect with which the printed book is continually cited, — by Cotta, for example, in his *Triall of Witch-craft* (1616).⁷¹ Cotta's treatise is likewise dedicated to Coke.

John Cotta was of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1590, and later of Corpus Christi. He received the degree of M.A. in 1596, and that of M.D. in 1603. His first book appeared in 1612. It contains a good deal about witchcraft. In 1616 he published a systematic treatise, *A Triall of Witch-craft*, of which a second edition came out in 1624. The main object of this work is to prove that any given case of alleged sorcery ought to be examined by methods of the senses and reason, like other objects of investigation. Cotta, then, is on the right side. He follows Wierus in maintaining that

⁶⁷ Pp. 256-257. For other expressions of opinion on witchcraft, see Perkins's *Golden Chaine*, ed. 1605, pp. 34-36, and his *Combate betweene Christ and the Diuell*, ed. 1606, pp. 16, 25, 37.

⁶⁸ Samuel Clarke, *Life of Perkins* (*Marrow of Ecclesiastical History*, Part i., 3d ed., 1675, p. 416); cf. John Manningham's *Diary*, ed. Bruce, Camden Society, p. 104; Fuller, *Holy State*, ed. 1840, p. 71.

⁶⁹ Works, Oxford, 1837, 6. 340.

⁷⁰ See note 68 above.

⁷¹ Pp. 53, 89, 91, 95.

many so-called bewitched persons are suffering from natural disease. When he wrote he was practising at Northampton, where he had resided ever since he took his medical degree in 1603. His rationalizing attitude was largely the result of his own experience as a physician during this interval.

The whole ground of Cotta's argument is an acceptance of the traditional witch-dogma. He believes that there are witches in plenty; that they make contracts with the devil; that supernatural deeds are performed by the fiend, in which the witch "hath a property and interest" by virtue of her covenant with him; that, in this way, witches may be implicated in afflicting their fellow-creatures with diseases or in causing their death. As concrete examples, we may take the witches of Warboys (1589-1593) and the Lancashire witches (1612), for both of those notorious cases are accepted by Cotta without demur.⁷² And, just as he is confident that the guilt of a witch may be discovered with certainty by methods of reason and perception which he develops elaborately, so he is content to leave her to the courts, to be "arraigned and condemned of manifest high treason against Almighty God, and of combination with his open and professed enemy the Diuell."⁷³ The statute of 1604 was none too rigorous for Dr. Cotta. If these were his sentiments in 1616, when he was writing a cautionary and corrective treatise, we may be certain that his views were quite as orthodox at the turn of the century, when he was still at the University of Cambridge and subject to the influence of Perkins, whom he cites with so much respect.

From Cambridge we turn to Oxford. Thomas Cooper, of Christ Church, was A.B. in 1590, A.M. in 1593, B.D. in 1600. In 1601 he was presented by his college to a living in Cheshire, which he resigned in 1604. From 1604 to 1610 he was vicar of Holy Trinity, Coventry.⁷⁴ His volume entitled *The Mystery of Witch-craft* was not published until 1617, but it embodies information enough about the author's

⁷² Pp. 77, 90.

⁷³ P. 80.

⁷⁴ Ormerod, *County of Chester*, ed. Helsby, 1. 611; Joseph Welch, *List of the Queen's Scholars of St. Peter's College, Westminster*, ed. Phillimore, p. 59; Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, 1. 325; *Dictionary of National Biography*; Cooper, *Mystery*, sig. A2.

experiences and opinions in the time preceding the accession of James to make it available for our present purposes. Cooper's acquaintance with magic began while he was a student at Oxford. There was a time, he tells us, when he "admired some in the Vniuersitie famozed in that skill." "Did not," he exclaims, — "did not the Lord so dispose of mee, that my *Chamber-fellow* was exceedingly bewitched with these faire shewes, and hauing gotten diuers bookes to that end, was earnest in the pursuit of that glorie which might redound thereby? Did not wee communicate our Studies together? was not this skill proposed and canuased in common? And did not the Lord so arme his vnworthy seruant, that not onely the snare was graciously espied; but, by the great mercie of my God, the Lord vsed mee as a meanes to diuert my *Chamber-fellow* from these dangerous studies?"⁷⁵ Thus we learn that when Cooper received his Cheshire living, in 1601, he was deeply impressed with the horror of dealing with devils. Between this date and 1610 he had several encounters with witchcraft, — at Northwich (near Chester), in Lancashire, and at Coventry.⁷⁶ Some of these are perhaps too late for us to use, but the Northwich incident falls in 1601 and 1602.⁷⁷ At all events, we are safe in believing that the sentiments which Cooper expresses in his volume do not differ appreciably from those which he entertained before James's accession. Now Cooper agrees in all essentials and in most particulars with Perkins, from whom he borrows largely without due acknowledgment.⁷⁸ Writing after the passage of the statute of 1604, he rejoices that the law has been made severer.⁷⁹ Yet he is not satisfied. Like Perkins, he holds that "the *Blessor or good Witch* . . . is farre more dangerous then the *Badde or hurting Witch*,"⁸⁰ and that both kinds ought to be extirpated. Thus it ap-

⁷⁵ Pp. 12-13.

⁷⁶ Sig. A3, A4, p. 13.

⁷⁷ Deacon and Walker refer to the case in their *Summarie Answer* to Darrel, 1601, p. 237. Darrel, in *A Survey of Certain Dialogical Discourses*, 1602, p. 54, gives the boy's name ("*Tho. Harison of North Wych in Ches shire*"), and says that he is "at this present very greuously vexed by Sathan."

⁷⁸ Compare, for instance, Cooper, pp. 52-55, with Perkins, pp. 19-22, 26, 27, 30, 31, 33, 34; Cooper, pp. 64-65, with Perkins, pp. 41-43; Cooper, p. 68, with Perkins, pp. 47-48; Cooper, pp. 123-133, 136, with Perkins, pp. 55-67, 73, 92, 104.

⁷⁹ P. 314.

⁸⁰ P. 232.

pears that Cooper, though he wrote after the passage of the statute of 1604, may serve as a witness to the opinions that prevailed among many of the clergy at about the turn of the century.

Our fourth witness is a very strong one, and his testimony is not complicated by inferences about dates. He is George Giffard, another Oxford man. Giffard's *Dialogue concerning Witches and Witchcrafts* was first published in 1593, — a year otherwise notable in the annals of English sorcery, as we shall see in a moment. It was reissued in 1603, three years after his death.⁸¹ Giffard was an eminent preacher of Maldon, in Essex. He passes for one of the earliest opponents of the witchcraft delusion, and with some reason, for he held that sickness and death ascribed to witchcraft were due to natural causes, he repudiated spectral and hearsay evidence, and he argued against convicting anybody except on conclusive testimony. Yet it never entered his head to deny the existence of witches or to doubt that they have dealings with the fiend. He tells us that the times were devil-haunted. "It falleth out in many places euen of a sudden, as it seemeth to me, and no doubt by the heauie iudgement of God, that the Diuels as it were let loose, do more preuaile, then euer I haue heard of. . . . Satan is now heard speake, and beleueed. He speaketh by coniurers, by sorcerers, and by witches, and his word is taken. He deuiseeth a number of things to be done, & they are put in practise and followed."⁸² Giffard is here speaking in his own person. Elsewhere in the dialogue he gives us a first-rate account of the popular terror. One of the interlocutors is "Samuel," an honest and well-to-do goodman. "They say," declares Samuel, "there is scarce any towne or village in all this shire, but there is one or two witches at the least in it."⁸³ And the annals of Essex bear out Samuel's views. Thirteen witches, as we have seen, were convicted and ten

⁸¹ The Dictionary of National Biography and Dr. Usher date Giffard's death 1620. But he was doubtless the George Giffard of Maldon whose will was proved in 1600 (*Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society, New Series*, 7. 46). For Giffard's connection with the Classical Movement of 1573-1592, see R. G. Usher, *Presbyterian Movement*, 1905, pp. xli, 9, 16, 19, 42, 94. For Giffard's reputation see D'Ewes, *Autobiography*, ed. Halliwell, 1. 114.

⁸² Dedicatory Epistle.

⁸³ Ed. 1603, sig. A 3.

of them hanged at Chelmsford in 1582, and there were other executions there in 1579 and 1589. It was an outbreak in that same neighborhood in 1645 that started Matthew Hopkins on his career; and the evidence and confessions went back, in some instances for twenty, and even thirty years.⁸⁴ Giffard was a man of unusual humanity and strong common sense, as his book shows. Yet he was heartily in favor of a severer law than the statute of Elizabeth. The following passage from his Dialogue is a precious document for our present purposes. "Daniel" is the speaker who presents Giffard's own views; "M. B." is a schoolmaster.

Dan. A witch by the word of God ought to die the death, not because she killeth men, for that she cannot (vnles it be those witches which kill by poyson, which either they receiue from the diuell, or hee teacheth them to make) but because she dealeth with diuels. And so if a Iurie doe finde proofe that she hath dealt with diuels, they may and ought to finde them guiltie of witchcraft.

M. B. If they finde them guiltie to haue dealt with diuels, and cannot say they haue murdered men, the law doth not put them to death.

Dan. It were to be wished, that the law were more [p]erfect in that respect, euen to cut off all such abominations. These cunning men and women which deale with spirites and charmes seeming to doe good, and draw the people into manifold impieties, with all other which haue familiarity with deuels, or vse coniurations, ought to bee rooted out, that others might see and feare. (Sig. K3.)

Here we have a highly intelligent preacher, a man of real influence, pressing for precisely that change in the law — the extension of the death penalty to witchcraft that produces bodily injury without death — which was actually embodied in the statute of 1604. And Giffard, like Perkins, condemns the "white witch" utterly. The evidence speaks for itself.

Perkins's Discourse and Giffard's Dialogue are strongly contrasted works. Giffard addresses his teaching to the unlearned: he throws his book into the form of a conversation (so he tells us) "to make it fitter for the capacity of the simpler sort." Perkins, on the other hand, writes for educated persons, — for those who can follow a close-knit scholastic argument. Giffard's aim is to free the minds of

⁸⁴ A True and Exact Relation of the severall Informations [etc.] of the late Witches, 1645, pp. 8, 15, 32, 34.

the common people from needless terrors and to prevent the shedding of innocent blood. Perkins, though he warns his readers (as Giffard does) against condemning on slender evidence, is chiefly bent on defending the witchcraft dogma against the assaults of Wierus and Reginald Scot. Yet both Giffard and Perkins hold tenaciously to the inherited belief. There *are* such things as witches; they *do* ally themselves with the devil; they *should* be punished. And in this matter of the penalty — which is our chief concern at the moment — Giffard and Perkins are in perfect accord. Both maintain that *all witches ought to be put to death, irrespective of the question whether they have killed men by their arts or not*. In other words, the Elizabethan statute seemed to them insufficient, and they urged the enacting of a law of greater severity. Could there be more illuminating evidence? Nothing can be clearer than that, about the turn of the century, before Elizabeth was dead and James had taken her place, there was strong pressure for a revision of the witchcraft law, and for revision in the direction taken by the statute of 1604. This was the kind of pressure to which the legislators yielded — nothing loth, to be sure. They were not browbeaten by King James, nor did they vote with an eye to the royal favor. They followed their own consciences, incited by the feelings of the populace and stimulated by the exhortations of the gravest counsellors they knew.

The four books that we have just examined would suffice to prove, even if there were no other evidence, that the accession of James found the English public — both in its educated and its uneducated classes — deeply impressed with the actuality of witchcraft as an ever-present menace to soul and body, intensely excited on the subject, and pressing hard for the extermination of witches.⁸⁵ But there is other evidence in plenty. The records from 1582 to 1603 abound in specific cases. Two items call for particular notice: the Darrel affair (1586–1601), and the affair of the Witches of Warboys (1589–1593). There is a close psychological connection between them.

⁸⁵ The general anxiety of Englishmen as Elizabeth's death drew nigh is graphically described by Dekker, *The Wonderfull Yeare*, 1603 (Works, ed. Grosart, 1. 94–96). Such crises are always favorable to outbreaks of witch-prosecution.

John Darrel, a Cambridge graduate, was a Puritan preacher in Derbyshire when (in 1586) he began his career as a caster-out of devils. In 1598 he was summoned before an ecclesiastical commission over which Archbishop Whitgift presided. Bishop Bancroft and Chief Justice Anderson were members of the commission. More than forty witnesses were called. Some of the demoniacs confessed fraud, and Darrel, with his associate George More, was convicted of imposture and imprisoned.⁸⁶ There had been an uproar over the possessions and the exorcisms, and popular opinion sided with Darrel. Samuel Harsnet, the cleverest of Bishop Bancroft's chaplains, was delegated to write up the case. His famous *Discovery* came out in 1599, and was expected to overwhelm Darrel with ridicule and odium. In the long run it has had this result, for Darrel is usually treated nowadays as an impostor. But it had no such effect at the time. Both Darrel and More wrote long replies, and printed them surreptitiously in defiance of the authorities.

Bancroft soon discovered that Harsnet's skirmishing was not sufficient, and he brought his heavy troops into action. Two treatises, of unimaginable ponderosity in style and matter, each elaborated in concert by two preachers, John Deacon and John Walker, came out in 1601.⁸⁷ Harsnet had railed and ridiculed and "exposed," but he had steered clear of dialectics. Deacon and Walker toiled to supply the desideratum. Using all the scholastic machinery, they tried to prove, by logic and Scripture, that there is no such thing as demoniacal possession nowadays, and that Darrel's demoniacs were either counterfeiting or else afflicted with natural diseases. Darrel promptly replied to both books, printing his answers surreptitiously, as before.

Strange as it may seem, Darrel has the best of the argument. For his opponents admit both too little and too much. They admit too little, since they wish the fits to appear fraudulent, whereas these were, beyond a shadow of doubt, genuine hysteria, of which lying and imposture are well-recognized symptoms. Darrel was sharp enough to see that, as managed by his opponents, the hypothesis of fraud

⁸⁶ Harsnet, *Discovery*, 1599, pp. 8-9.

⁸⁷ *Summarie Answer, and Dialogicall Discourses*.

and the hypothesis of disease thwarted each other, and left some kind of demonic assault in possession of the field. They admit too much, because they themselves grant the existence of evil spirits of vast power (nay, take pains to demonstrate their existence), and because they accept demoniacal possession as a fact in ancient times, though they reject it for the present age. This rejection was, of course, quite arbitrary, and their attempts to justify it from Scripture were pitifully weak. Darrel could appeal to facts and experience. His patients had manifested the same symptoms as the demoniacs of old, and it was obviously absurd to force a distinction. If the afflicted persons in Bible times were possessed with devils, then his patients were possessed with devils; and if he had relieved them (as he surely had), then there was no reason which Deacon and Walker could make valid to reject the corollary of dispossession.

But what connection has this strange affair with witchcraft? Here we must walk circumspectly, for misapprehensions are rife. It is often inferred that Bancroft and Harsnet, because they denounced Darrel and his patients as tricksters, had no belief in witchcraft. This is a false conclusion. A demoniac is not necessarily bewitched. He may owe his dire condition to some witch's malice, or, on the other hand, the devil may have assailed him immediately, without a witch's agency. Further, there are many evil things done by witches which have no reference to demoniacal possession. In all of Darrel's cases, to be sure, witches were accused. To some extent, then, Bancroft and his assistants were, in effect, attempting to discredit the witch dogma, since they were attacking the genuineness, or the diabolical origin, of certain phenomena ascribed, in these particular instances, to witchcraft. But (and we cannot be too careful in making the distinction) *they did not deny either the existence or the criminality of witches in general*, any more than they denied the existence of wicked spirits. They strove to explode the theory of demoniacal possession; but they did not attack the witchcraft dogma. Indeed, they took care to avoid committing themselves on that head. For, even if they had no faith in the dogma, they knew that to assail it would throw them out of court, inasmuch as the belief in

witchcraft was, in some form or other, universal among all classes and all persuasions.

Further, Bancroft and his aids, in their opposition to Darrel, were not espousing the cause of alleged witches, — or, if so, they were doing it in a purely incidental way. Their object was quite definite and unconcealed. They were warring against the Puritans⁸⁸ and the Roman Catholics, whom they regarded as foes to Church and State. Puritan preachers and Roman Catholic priests both professed to cast out devils. In Bancroft's eyes these were absurd pretensions. Yet the people and many of the clergy were much impressed. There was danger ahead, so the Bishop thought. A vigorous campaign was necessary. But the campaign was political and ecclesiastical, not humanitarian. Its aim was not to save witches, but to crush exorcists.⁸⁹

Here is a significant bit of evidence on this point. In 1602 Mary Glover, the daughter of a merchant in Thames Street, had weird seizures, which she attributed to the malign spells of Elizabeth Jackson. The neighbors were eager to prosecute, but a physician informed Chief Justice Anderson that "the maid did counterfeit." Anderson directed Sir John Croke (Recorder of London) to summon the girl to his chamber in the Temple and test the matter. Croke

⁸⁸ "Phantastical giddy-headed Puritans" Archbishop Matthew Hutton of York calls them in a letter to Whitgift, Oct. 1, 1603 (Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, 1718, p. 570).

⁸⁹ The exorcisms of the Jesuit Edmunds (alias Weston) and his associates in 1585 and 1586 were similarly attacked by Bancroft and Harsnet. See Harsnet's famous diatribe, *A Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures*, 1603 (2d edition, 1605). The Roman Catholics were no more convinced in this case than the Puritans were in that of Darrel (see the references to Yepes and others in Mr. T. G. Law's article on Devil-Hunting in Elizabethan England, in the *Nineteenth Century for March*, 1894, 35. 397 ff.). On Sir George Peckham, who was involved in this affair, see Merriman, *American Historical Review*, 17, 492 ff. Compare Sir George Courthop on the Nuns of Loudun (*Memoirs, Camden Miscellany*, 11. 106-109); see also Evelyn's *Diary*, August 5, 1670.

Darrel's opponents did their best to stigmatize his principles and practices with regard to demoniacal possession as identical with those of the Roman Catholic Church. Thus Deacon and Walker, speaking of Darrel, inform their readers that "he hath for a season (though feare and shame enforceth him now to pluck in his head) very prowdlie *ietted* from cuntry to cuntry like a pettie new *Pope* among his owne *Cardinals*; yea and that also in his *pontificalities*, portrayed and contrived after the *new-found popelike cut*" (*Summarie Answere*, 1601, Address to the Reader).

did so in 1603, having both the maid and the witch present, with divers neighbors and certain ministers. He was convinced, by various drastic tests, that there was no imposture, and committed Mother Jackson to Newgate. At the Recorder's instance, several ministers undertook to relieve the girl by fasting and prayer. They were completely successful. One of them, Lewis Hughes, was despatched to Bishop Bancroft with the tidings. He was not well received. "I . . . could have no audience," he writes, "and for my paines I was called Rascall and varlot, and sent to the Gatehouse, where hee kept me foure moneths."⁹⁰ But Mother Jackson was arraigned and convicted in due course. Bancroft, we observe, was certain that this was not demoniacal possession, and he imprisoned the exorciser. But he made no effort, so far as we can learn, to rescue the witch. He left her to the courts with a good conscience.

This episode fell just after the so-called exposure of Darrel. The date makes it instructive. The Recorder, we note, was still a believer in possession, despite the arguments of Bancroft's literary bureau, and so were many (perhaps most) of the clergy. Indeed, we must not too hastily assume that all the bishops even were ready to subscribe to Bancroft's extreme tenets. Take the case of Thomas Harrison, the Boy of Northwich, in Cheshire. His fits began in 1600 or 1601 and lasted a year or two. He was kept for ten days in the Bishop of Chester's palace and carefully watched, but no fraud was detected. The Bishop (Richard Vaughan) and three other commissioners issued an order that, "for [his] ease and deliverance" from "his grievous afflictions," public prayers should be offered for him in the parish church "before the congregation so oft as the same assembleth." They delegated seven clergymen to visit him by turns, and "to use their discretions by private prayer and fasting, for the ease and comfort of the afflicted." Some held, this

⁹⁰ *Certaine Grievances*, 1641, p. 20. See George Sinclair, *Satan's Invisible World Discovered*, 1685, Relation XII (reprint, 1871, pp. 95-100; cf. Ferguson, *Publications of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, 3, 56-57); Commission on Historical MSS., 8th Report, Appendix, Part I., p. 228. An account of the affair, by George Swan, was published in 1603, under the title, *A True and Brief Report, etc.* On Lewis Hughes see Kittredge, George Stirk, *Minister* (reprinted from the *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*), 1910, pp. 18-21.

document informs us, "that the child [was] really possessed of an unclean spirit." This Bishop Vaughan and the other commissioners doubted. But they did not think he was shamming. They had "seene the bodily affliction of the said child," and observed in sundry fits very strange effects and operations, they tell us, "either proceeding of natural vnknowne causes, or of some diabolical practise."⁹¹ And Harvey, one of the clergymen appointed by the Bishop to fast and pray, wrote to a friend that nothing like the "passions [*i.e.* sufferings], behavior, and speeches" of the boy had "ever come under his observation or occurred in his reading." "Few that have seene the variety of his fits, but they thinke the divell hath the disposing of his body. Myselfe have divers times seene him, and such things in him as are impossible to proceed from any humane creature. The matter hath affected our whole country. The Divines with us generally hold, that the child is really possessed."⁹² A contemporary memorandum assures us that once, when the Bishop was praying with him, "the Boy was so outrageous, that he flew out of his bed, and so frightened the Bishops men, that one of them fell into a sown, and the Bishop was glad to lay hold on the boy, who ramped at the Window to have gotten out."⁹³

Joseph Hall, afterwards Bishop of Exeter (1627) and of Norwich (1641), in disputing with a Belgian priest in 1605, asserted roundly that "in our church, we had manifest proofs of the ejection of devils by fasting and prayer."⁹⁴ Hall was a firm believer in witchcraft and approved of the statute of 1604.⁹⁵

⁹¹ Darrel, *Replie*, 1602, p. 21.

⁹² Darrel, pp. 21-22.

⁹³ John Bruen's memoranda, in William Hinde's *Life of John Bruen* (born 1560, died 1625), in Samuel Clarke, *Marrow of Ecclesiastical History*, Part ii., Book ii., 1675, p. 95. Bruen (who was a Cheshire man) was an eyewitness of the boy's fits, and his notes, as excerpted by Hinde, give a good idea of his ravings (pp. 94-96). The boy cried out against "the witch," but I do not find that anybody was brought to trial.

⁹⁴ *Autobiography*, Works, ed. Hall (1837), 1. xxi. Hall may have had in mind the case reported by Bishop Parkhurst in a letter to Bullinger, June 29, 1574 (*Zurich Letters*, ed. Hastings Robinson, 1842, No. 118, translation, p. 118, original, p. 178).

⁹⁵ Works, 6. 136-137; 7. 245-246; *Contemplations*, Works, ed. 1623, pp. 1134-1135.

And now we will go back a few years in order to see what the bishops and the judges thought, and how they acted, when a case combining demoniacal possession with witchcraft was not complicated by Puritan or Roman Catholic exorcism. Let us examine, as briefly as may be, the celebrated case of the Witches of Warboys. The story has been told again and again, but its actual bearing on the history of English witch prosecution has never been pointed out. The Warboys case lasted from 1589, when the fits of the afflicted persons began, until 1593, when the witches were hanged.

Robert Throckmorton, Esquire, was a Huntingdonshire gentleman of excellent family and connections. He was of Ellington, but had removed to Warboys shortly before our story begins. Both these places are near the county town, and therefore not far from Cambridge. The disturbance began in November, 1589, when Jane, Mr. Throckmorton's daughter, a girl of about ten years, was attacked with violent hysteria. In her fits, she called out against Mother Samuel, an aged neighbor. Two first-rate physicians of Cambridge were consulted, Dr. Barrow (a friend of Mr. Throckmorton's) and Master Butler. The latter was, I suppose, William Butler (1535-1618) of Clare Hall, of whom Aubrey tells several amusing anecdotes. Aubrey informs us that he "never tooke the degree of Doctor, though he was the greatest physician of his time."⁹⁶ Both Barrow and Butler were baffled, and Barrow ascribed the fits to witchcraft, remarking that he himself "had some experience of the mallice of some witches."⁹⁷ This speech is worth noting, for it throws light on the state of mind of university men. Within two months, Mistress Jane's four sisters — ranging in age from nine to fifteen years — were similarly attacked, and they all cried out against Mother Samuel. This affliction lasted until April, 1593, or about three years and a half. In the interval six or seven womenservants (for the Throckmorton ménage was of course somewhat unstable) suffered from just such fits, — and also the wife of one of the girls' maternal uncles, Mr. John Pickering of

⁹⁶ *Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, 1. 138.

⁹⁷ *The Witches of Warboys*, 1593, sig. B2 r°.

Ellington. Mother Samuel was believed to be the cause of it all. Yet the children's parents acted with exemplary caution. They had no wish to prosecute Mother Samuel, but treated her kindly and gave their attention to caring for the girls and urging her to confess. Her confession and repentance, it was hoped, would put an end to the fits.

About Christmas, 1592, Mother Samuel admitted her guilt. Even then there was no immediate thought of bringing her to justice. She was in great distress of mind, and both Mr. Throckmorton and Dr. Dorington, the parson of Warboys, exerted themselves to give her Christian consolation as a repentant sinner. However, she almost immediately retracted, whereupon Mr. Throckmorton, losing patience at last, took her before the Bishop of Lincoln (William Chaderton) and certain justices. She again made admission of guilt. Soon after the girls fell into their fits afresh, and they now accused the old woman of the death of Lady Cromwell, the second wife of Sir Henry Cromwell of Hinchinbrook, the great landowner of those parts, known for his splendor as the Golden Knight.

The Cromwells and the Throckmortons were friends, and, in September, 1590, Lady Cromwell, being then at Ramsey, only two miles from Warboys, had made a call of sympathy on the family. Mother Samuel, who lived next door, had been summoned. The Samuels were Sir Henry's tenants, and the lady spoke roughly to the old woman, accusing her of witchcraft, and snatched off her cap and clipped off a lock of her hair. This she told Mistress Throckmorton to burn. Mother Samuel uttered some words which, when later remembered, passed for the *damnum minatum*. That night Lady Cromwell was strangely attacked, and she died after an illness of a year and a quarter, — that is, about the beginning of 1592. Nobody appears to have connected Mother Samuel with her death until, in 1593, the afflicted girls charged her with it in their ravings. They extended the accusation to John Samuel, her husband, and Agnes, her daughter. All three were tried at Huntingdon before Justice Fenner on April 5th, 1593. Mother Samuel confessed, and, with her husband and daughter, was hanged, according to the Elizabethan statute. There was no doubt of their

guilt in anybody's mind. Mother Samuel herself thought the girls bewitched, and old Samuel was finally convinced that his wife was guilty.

Several causes combined to make this the most momentous witch-trial that had ever occurred in England. The long continuance of the phenomena and the station of the victims were alone sufficient to give the affair wide currency. The family was connected with many persons of importance. Mr. Robert Throckmorton was related to the Warwickshire and the Gloucestershire Throckmortons. One of his first cousins, also named Robert, lived at Brampton, Northants, close by, and often witnessed the girls' fits. The girls' maternal uncle, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Gilbert Pickering of Tichmarsh, and his brothers, John and Henry, were deeply interested, and gave evidence at the assizes. So did Dr. Francis Dorington, the Warboys rector, who was the husband of Mr. Throckmorton's sister. Robert Poulter, vicar of Brampton, another witness, was also connected with the family.⁹⁸ Francis Cromwell, Sir Henry's brother, was one of the justices to whom Mother Samuel confessed. The Cromwells were among the best-known commoners in the kingdom. Dr. Dorington's brother John, a Londoner, visited the children in their attacks, and of course he talked of the affair in the capital.

The connections with Cambridge were also very intimate. The physicians consulted by Mr. Throckmorton, as we have noticed, lived there, and they were both university men. Dr. Francis Dorington, the parson of Warboys, who had married Mr. Throckmorton's sister, and Thomas Nutt, the vicar of Ellington, were also Cambridge graduates.⁹⁹ Both were deeply interested in the case, and gave evidence at the trial. Henry Pickering, one of the children's maternal

⁹⁸ See the Throckmorton pedigree (drawn up by Robert Throckmorton himself in 1613) in Charles's Visitation of the County of Huntingdon, ed. Ellis, Camden Society, 1849, pp. 123-124, and the Pulter pedigree, in the same, p. 101. Cf. the Pickering pedigree in Bridges, Northamptonshire, 2. 383-385.

⁹⁹ Dorington was A.B. 1555, Fellow of St. Catherine's College 1558, A.M. 1559, S. T. B. Queen's College 1565, S.T.P. 1575. Nutt matriculated at Peterhouse 1568; he was A.B. 1573, A.M. 1577. For this information, as well as the university record of Henry and Thomas Pickering (the editor of Perkins's Discourse), I am indebted to the kindness of the Registry, Dr. J. N. Keynes, and the good offices of Professor Skeat.

uncles, was at Christ's College when the fits began.¹⁰⁰ He not only visited the Throckmortons in 1590, "being then a Scholler of Cambridge," and stayed there three or four days, but he took two other scholars of his acquaintance to see the witch, and we have a pretty full account of the interview. Mr. Pickering was fully persuaded that Goody Samuel was a witch. Being somewhat moved, he told her that "there was no way to preuent the iudgements of God, but by her confession and repentance: which if she did not in time, he hoped one day to see her burned at a stake, and he himselfe would bring fire and wood, and the children should blowe the coales."¹⁰¹ This Mr. Henry Pickering became, in 1597, rector of Aldwinle All Saints, in Northamptonshire. His daughter Mary married Erasmus Dryden (son of Sir Erasmus), and became the mother of the illustrious poet, who was born at the parsonage house of Aldwinle All Saints in 1631.¹⁰² Thus it appears that the five tormented Throckmorton girls were first cousins of the poet's mother, and that Mrs. Throckmorton was his great-aunt. We note that William Perkins, whose treatise on witchcraft we have examined, was a fellow of Christ's College during most of the time when these fits were going on. It is curious, too, that the publisher of Perkins's posthumous treatise (another Cambridge man) was Thomas Pickering,¹⁰³ doubtless a relative, though we cannot be certain of that. Both Sir Henry Cromwell and his son Oliver had been at the university.

The Warboys case, then, demonstrably produced a deep

¹⁰⁰ Henry Pickering was a younger son of Sir Gilbert Pickering, Knight, of Tichmarsh, Northamptonshire. He matriculated at Christ's College, as a Pensioner, March 16, 1582-3, was A.B. 1586, A.M. 1590, and incorporated at Oxford 1593 (see note 99, above).

¹⁰¹ *Witches of Warboys*, sig. E3.

¹⁰² The year when Pickering became rector of Aldwinle All Saints, and the date of his death (1637, aged 75), were first correctly given (from his tombstone) by Mr. W. D. Christie in the Globe Edition of Dryden's Poetical Works, 1870, p. xvi., note †.

¹⁰³ Thomas Pickering was admitted at Emmanuel College as a Pensioner in 1589. He was A.B. 1592, A.M. and Fellow 1596, B.D. 1603. He became Vicar of Finch-
ingfield, Essex, March 9, 1605-6, and died there in 1625. For these facts I am indebted to the Registry of the University, Dr. J. N. Keynes, and to Mr. J. B. Peace, Bursar of Emmanuel. His marriage license was issued May 4, 1611; his will was proved 1627, and administration was granted March 13, 1625-6 (*Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, New Series, 6. 299).

and lasting impression on the class that made laws. The gentlemen concerned were not ignorant country squires in the remote districts; they were intelligent, well-educated men, in close contact with one of the universities and with the capital.

Nor was the impression allowed to die out. It was perpetuated in two ways — by a remarkable book and by a permanent foundation. The presiding judge, Edward Fenner, was so much struck by what he had seen and heard (for the children had their fits in his presence) that he joined with others to further the publication of a narrative, — *The Most Strange and Admirable Discoverie of the Three Witches of Warboys*, — which was printed in London in 1593. Full notes had been kept from the outset (as befitted the intelligence and education of the families concerned) and these were used by the author. This is no mere catchpenny tract. It is a careful and temperate report of the girls' malady from first to last. Nothing comparable to it, considered as a report on a long-continued case of epidemic hysteria, had ever appeared in England. The details, at which modern writers on witchcraft are wont to jeer, are no more ridiculous than the details in recent and esteemed treatises on *la grande hystérie*, or on multiple personality. That it kept the Warboys case alive long after the accession of James I. is certain, for Dr. John Cotta, in 1616 and again in 1624, refers to the "Treatise of the Witches of Warbozys" as authoritative.¹⁰⁴ He had no doubt whatever that the Throckmorton girls were bewitched.¹⁰⁵

Finally, Sir Henry Cromwell took effectual measures for

¹⁰⁴ *Triall of Witch-craft*, 1616, p. 77.

¹⁰⁵ Samuel Harsnet, when in full cry after Darrel, did not venture to attack the Warboys case directly. True, he refers alightingly to the printed narrative as a "silly book," but in the same breath he suggests that one of Darrel's patients had taken a leaf out of it. And Darrel, in replying, taunts Harsnet with not daring to assail the case openly. That Mr. Throckmorton's children, says Darrel, "were tormented by the diuell, even 5. of his daughters, it is notoriously knowne, and so generally receaued for truth, as the *Dis[coverer]*. himselfe [i.e. Harsnet] dareth not deny it, though fayne he would, as appeareth by his nibling at them" (*Detection of Harshnet*, 1600, p. 39; cf. pp. 20-22, 36, 40). And again, he does not hesitate to declare that Harsnet refrained from accusing the Throckmorton girls of counterfeiting because he did not dare: "He thought it best and meet for his safety becaus they were the children of an Esquire, not to say so in plaine tearmes" (p. 21).

perpetuating the impression made by the long-continued phenomena, the trial, and the book. Certain goods and chattels of the executed felons were forfeited to him as lord of the manor. He disdained to keep the money and wished to devote it to public uses. Hence he established an annual sermon at Huntingdon, to be delivered by a fellow of his own college, Queen's of Cambridge. The appointee was to "preache and invaye against the detestable practice, synne, and offence of witchcraft, inchantment, charm, and sorcerye." The sermon was maintained until 1812, but toward the end its burden was turned to the explosion of the old belief.¹⁰⁶

And now, when we come to apply what we have observed of the state of educated public opinion and to estimate its presumable effect on the legislators of 1604, who passed the revised statute, we are struck with a fact which all investigators have overlooked or ignored. *Two gentlemen were sitting in the House of Commons who had the strongest personal interest in the Warboys case.* The Samuels had been hanged, not for tormenting the Throckmorton girls,¹⁰⁷ but for bewitching Lady Cromwell to death. As we run our eye down the list of Members of Parliament, it is arrested by two names, — Sir Oliver Cromwell and Henry Cromwell, — one the member for the County of Huntingdon, the other for the borough. These were sons of that Sir Henry whose wife had died (as all believed) from Mother Samuel's arts, and who had founded a sermon in perpetual memory of the murder.

Both Sir Oliver and Henry Cromwell might therefore be presumed to have an effective knowledge of the case. But we are not left to conjecture. Their uncle, Francis Cromwell, was one of the justices to whom Goody Samuel confessed.¹⁰⁸ Mr. Henry Cromwell himself had visited the Throckmorton house with one of Sir Henry's men and had observed two of the girls in their fits.¹⁰⁹ This was in 1593, shortly before the actual trial, and after the girls had begun to accuse the Samuels of Lady Cromwell's murder. As for

¹⁰⁶ J. H. Gray, *Queen's College*, 1899, pp. 128-129.

¹⁰⁷ That offence, under the Elizabethan statute, was punishable only by imprisonment and the pillory, for none of the girls had died.

¹⁰⁸ Sig. I r°; cf. sig. P 2 v°.

¹⁰⁹ Sig. N3.

Sir Oliver, his wife had accompanied her mother-in-law on the fatal visit to the Throckmortons, and had been present at her interview with Goody Samuel. That night, Lady Cromwell was "strangely tormented in her sleep, by a cat (as she imagined) which mother Samuel had sent vnto her." Mistress Oliver Cromwell was sleeping in the same bed (her husband being from home), and was awakened by the "strugling and striuing of the Lady . . . and mournfull noise, which shee made speaking to the cat, and to mother Samuel." Mistress Oliver roused her mother-in-law, who told her all about her dream. Lady Cromwell had no more sleep that night, and soon after sickened, as already told.¹¹⁰ We may be sure that when Mr. Oliver Cromwell returned, he was put in full possession of both ladies' experiences. Surely neither Sir Oliver Cromwell nor his brother stood in need of instruction in the witch dogma from James I., or required any royal influence to persuade them to vote for the statute of 1604.

It is worth while to follow the clue a little farther, and to glance at the parliamentary history of the statute. Most writers have been quite innocent of any knowledge that it even had such a history. Yet there it stands in the Lords' and Commons' Journals, and an instructive history it is.

The bill originated in the House of Lords. The first reading took place on March 27, 1604. On the 29th it was read a second time and referred to a committee consisting of six earls, sixteen other peers, and twelve bishops. The committee was to have the most expert advice conceivable, and to that end an imposing array of legal talent, learning, and experience was requested "to attend the Lords" in their deliberations. Here is the list: the Chief Justice of Common Pleas (Anderson), the Chief Baron of the Exchequer (Sir William Peryam), two justices of the King's Bench (Sir Christopher Yelverton and David Williams), Serjeant Croke, the Attorney-General (Coke), and Sir John Tindall, a distinguished ecclesiastical lawyer. Nor was all this a mere flourish. The committee and its eminent counsel took their duties seriously. They rejected the draft that

¹¹⁰ Sig. E 3 r°.

had been referred to them, and, on the 2d of April, the committee reported a new bill, "framed by the committee." This was brought into the Lords by the Earl of Northumberland. It received certain amendments, and, on May 8th, after the third reading, was passed and sent to the House of Commons. Here, too, there was careful deliberation. On May 11th the bill had its first reading; and on the 26th it was read a second time and referred to a committee of seventeen, including the Recorder of London and two serjeants-at-law (Hobart and Shirley), which was directed to meet on the first of June in the Middle Temple Hall. On the 5th, Sir Thomas Ridgeway, for the committee, reported the bill "with alterations and amendments." On June 7th it came up for the third reading, was passed as amended, and on the 9th was sent up to the Lords.¹¹¹

This bare statement of recorded facts disposes of the myth that King James was the author or the father of the statute which has so long been associated with his name and fame. Whether the measure was good or bad, — whether its results were great or small, — the Lords and Commons of England, and not the king, must shoulder the responsibility.¹¹² And it is in complete accord with what we should expect from the caution with which both houses proceeded and the care which their committees took, that the statute, when finally it left the hands of Parliament, was not really a new law at all, but simply a modification and extension of the statute of Elizabeth.

Two names on the Lords' Committee catch the eye immediately, — the Earl of Derby and the Bishop of Lincoln. Ten years before, in 1594, a short time after the witches of Warboys were hanged, Ferdinando, fifth Earl of Derby, had died at Latham after a ten days' illness. The physicians (he had four) ascribed his disease to a surfeit combined with

¹¹¹ Lords' Journals, 1. 267, 269, 271, 272, 293, 294, 316; Commons' Journals, 1. 204, 207, 227, 232, 234, 236.

¹¹² The object of the law was not to multiply culprits, but to deter men from committing the crime. The idea that very great severity defeats its object did not then obtain among penologists. Take an example of the temper of intelligent men in this regard. In May, 1604, William Clopton writes to Timothy Hutton: — "There is an act passed to take away the clergie from stealers of sheep and oxen, which will do much good" (Hutton Correspondence, Surtees Society, 1843, p. 195).

over-exertion. But there were grave suspicions of sorcery. The earl had dreamed strange dreams; he had been "crossed" by an apparition "with a gastly and threatning countenance." An image of wax was discovered in his bedroom. "A homely Woman, about the age of fifty yeeres, was found mumbling in a corner of his honours Chamber, but what God knoweth." Three other suspected witches appear in the case at divers times and in sundry manners. The earl himself "cryed out that the Doctors laboured in vaine, because hee was certainly bewitched." In the end, the opinion seems to have prevailed that he died from natural causes.¹¹³ But it would be extraordinary if all the circumstances had not made a profound impression on his younger brother, who succeeded him, and this is the Earl of Derby whom we have noted in the Lords' Committee on the bill. Another person who must also have been deeply affected by these strange happenings was the Bishop of Chester, who attended the dying man. This was Dr. William Chader-ton, who was translated to Lincoln in 1594, and he, too, sat in the Lords' Committee.

Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, who reported the second draft from the committee, was a famous student of the occult sciences and was popularly known as "the Wizard Earl." Like Dr. Dee, he believed that his own investigations were free from the taint of diabolism, but, like Dee, he must also have felt convinced that there were others who *did* traffic with the infernal powers, and that such persons deserved punishment.

Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, another member of the Lords' Committee, had the reputation of being the most learned of the peers. He was a firm believer in the actuality of communication between mortals and wicked spirits. In his erudite *Defensative against the Poyson of Supposed Prophecies*, written in 1582 and 1583, he declared that one of the means "whereby the contagion of vnlawfull Prophecies is conueyed into the mindes of mortall men, is conference with damned Spirits or Familiars, as commonly we call them."¹¹⁴ And he unhesitatingly ascribed the clairvoyance

¹¹³ Stow, *Chronicle*, ed. Howe, 1631, pp. 767-768.

¹¹⁴ Ed. 1620, p. 81.

of cunning men and women to such revelations, — taking as an example their disclosure of the thief in a case of cutting a purse.¹¹⁵

Let us turn to the Commons' Committee. Here we find several interesting names. Sir Roger Aston had been English resident in Scotland. This may be held to be a two-edged argument, but we do not need it, for there are plenty more. Two of the most notoriously witch-haunted counties in England were Lancaster and Essex. Now, Lancashire was represented on the committee by Sir Richard Molyneux of Sefton. As for Essex, not only was the county member, Sir Francis Barrington, on the committee, but also Sir Robert Wroth, who lived principally at Loughton Hall, in Essex. He was a man of forty-odd when Brian Darcey's great St. Osyth cases were tried and ten witches were hanged at Chelmsford in that county. Other executions at Chelmsford took place in 1579¹¹⁶ and 1589.¹¹⁷ Giffard, we remember, was an Essex preacher, and his Dialogue, published in 1593 and reissued in 1603, had urged the sharpening of the statute in the precise direction which this parliament took. Wroth had large possessions in Middlesex and sat for that county.¹¹⁸ Now of the twenty-nine years from 1573 to 1601 there were witch-records for thirteen. Serjeant Ho-

¹¹⁵ P. 85. Bishop Bancroft and the Earl of Shrewsbury were on the Lords' Committee. The bishop had been the leading spirit in the prosecution of Darrel, and the earl had been present at the trial. But this is no reason why they should have opposed the statute. As we have seen, Bancroft was a prosecutor of exorcists, not a protector of alleged witches. In the Synod called by James (which sat concurrently with Parliament, and broke up on July 9, 1604, two days after Parliament rose) a canon (written by Bancroft) was adopted, forbidding clergymen, without proper license, "to attempt upon any pretence whatsoever, eyther of Possession or Obsession, by fasting, and prayers to cast out any Devill or Devilla" (Canon 72, Constitutions and Canons of the Synod of 1603, ed. 1633; cf. J. W. Joyce, *England's Sacred Synods*, 1853, pp. 620 ff.; Cardwell, *Synodalia*, 2. 583 ff.). This canon was in no wise inconsistent with the statute, nor can it have been so regarded by the twelve bishops who sat on the Lords' Committee. At all events, James I. showed himself quite as skeptical as Bancroft in cases of alleged possession (see pp. 47 ff., below).

¹¹⁶ Collier, 2 *Notes and Queries*, 12. 301; Arber, *Stationers' Register*, 2. 352, 358.

¹¹⁷ Arber, 2. 525; cf. Collier, as above, p. 301.

¹¹⁸ On the Wroth family see a series of papers by Mr. W. C. Waller in the *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, New Series, 8. 145 ff., 345 ff.; 9. 1 ff. On Sir Robert Wroth (1540-1606) see especially 8. 150 ff. His son Robert (1576-1614, knighted in 1603) was one of Ben Jonson's patrons (see 8. 156 ff.).

bart (later Sir Henry) was likewise a committeeman. What he thought of witchcraft we may infer from his conduct when Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer at the trial of Margaret and Philip (*i.e.* Philippa) Flower, who were executed in 1619 for bewitching to death two sons of the Earl of Rutland.¹¹⁹ Nobody will suggest that he learned his creed from James I. If any should be so absurd, we may balance him by Sir Humphrey Winch, also an M.P., though not on the committee, who, in 1619, incurred the wrath of the king by condemning nine witches to death in a case which James himself shortly after exposed as an imposture. We shall return to this in a moment.¹²⁰ There was a Mr. Throckmorton on the committee. This was John Throckmorton, M.P. for Gloucestershire. The Throckmortons of that county were related to those of Huntingdonshire. It is likely that Mr. John had felt some share of the universal interest roused by the experiences of his distant kinswomen of Warboys. The Recorder of London also sat on the Commons' Committee. This was Henry Montagu,¹²¹ afterwards Chief Justice of the King's Bench (1616) and Earl of Manchester (1626). He was of Christ's College, Cambridge, where he had been a younger contemporary of William Perkins, whose strong advocacy of more stringent laws against witchcraft we have already noted. Later, he was a patron of Thomas Cooper, whose book about witchcraft we have examined.¹²² James Montagu, who preached Perkins's funeral sermon, was his younger brother.¹²³ Their father, Sir Edward Montagu, was likewise on the Commons' Committee. Can there be any doubt of the opinions of this family on the subject of witchcraft? Must we look to James I. as the source of their views? Finally, we note with peculiar interest that the bill was reported, with amendments, from the committee to the House by Sir Thomas Ridgeway, of Devon, before whom, in 1601 and 1602, were taken an extraordinary series

¹¹⁹ See pp. 59-60, below.

¹²⁰ See pp. 57-59, below.

¹²¹ He became Recorder in 1603 (Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1603-1610, pp. 10, 14; cf. Foss, *Judges of England*, 6. 167 ff.; Peile, *Biographical Register of Christ's College*, 1910, 1. 173).

¹²² *Life of Cooper in Dictionary of National Biography*.

¹²³ See p. 21, above. Cf. Peile, *Biographical Register of Christ's College*, 1910, 1. 181.

of examinations accusing the Trevisard family of witchcraft.¹²⁴

It is time to study the advisory board of legal experts who were attached to the Lords' Committee on this most earnestly debated bill. Three of these attract our particular attention, Chief Justice Anderson, Serjeant Croke, and Coke, then Attorney-General.

Sir Edmund Anderson had been chief justice for twenty-two years. He knew all about the workings of the Elizabethan statute. At first sight one might think him opposed to witch prosecution, for he had taken a leading part in "exposing" Darrel, and he had a lively sense of the danger of popular excitement to the innocent in such matters. But a moment's thought will set us right. Perkins and Giffard and Dr. Cotta — nay, James himself, as we shall see presently¹²⁵ — thought that judges ought to be very careful to sift the evidence and protect the innocent, but none of them doubted that a witch whose guilt was proved ought to be condemned. So the majority of civilized men to-day believe in the wisdom and righteousness of the death penalty for a certain grade of crime, but all are agreed that care should be taken to clear the innocent. An instructive example of the distinction that we must make may be seen in the person of Sir Edward Bromley. At the same assizes, in 1612, Bromley presided over two sets of witch-trials, those of the Pendle witches and those of the witches of Salmesbury. In the Pendle cases, he could not doubt the evidence, and he condemned ten to death with complete assurance that he was doing right. Cotta, himself, in 1616, speaks of the evidence in these cases with regard to sorcery by means of "pictures of waxe" as "proued" by "testimonies beyond exception."¹²⁶ In the Salmesbury cases, on the contrary, Bromley saw reason to suspect the veracity of the chief witness for the prosecution, and followed up the clue so well that the defendants were acquitted.¹²⁷ Students of demonology will not forget that modern writers have seen fit to gird at Bromley, not only for his supposed cruelty and superstition

¹²⁴ See p. 17, above.

¹²⁵ See pp. 48, 53, 58, 63-64, below.

¹²⁶ *Triall of Witch-craft*, p. 90.

¹²⁷ *Potta, Wonderfull Discoverie*, 1613, sigs. K3-N2.

in condemning the witches of Pendle, but also — strange to say — for the ground on which he first entertained the suspicion that led to the acquittal of the other group. But it is hard to satisfy modern writers on witchcraft, who insist on censuring the sixteenth and seventeenth century on a basis of modern rationalism. It is quite certain that if some of those who now sit in judgment on the witch-prosecutors had been witch-judges, no defendant would ever have escaped.

But we must return to Chief Justice Anderson, who, as well as Sir John Croke, sat on the committee of advisers to the Lords. Anderson and Croke had been associated, in 1603, in the affair of Mary Glover, which we have already considered. This happened before the accession of James. Croke appears therein as a devout believer in both demoniacal possession and witchcraft, and there is no reason to suppose that Anderson was in any way dissatisfied with his proceedings.¹²⁸

Now for Coke, the Attorney General. There is a new provision in the statute of 1604 (not found in the Elizabethan law) imposing the death penalty on any one who shall "take up any dead man, woman, or child out of his, her, or their grave, or any other place where the dead bodie resteth, or the skin, bone, or any other parte of any dead person, to be employed or used in any manner of Witchcrafte, Sorcerie, Charme, or Inchantment." Hutchinson¹²⁹ conjectured that this provision was due to King James, noting that such ghoulisn outrages were a part of the confession of Agnes Sampson, one of the first Scottish witches examined in the king's presence in 1590.¹³⁰ I am willing to add to this guess whatever support may be derived from the fact that the king, in his *Dæmonologie*, more than once adverts to the witches' habit of "joynting," or dismembering, corpses.¹³¹ But, when all is said and done, this is a poor refuge, in view of what now appears to be the history of the statute, especially when one remembers that the use of the dead for purposes of sorcery dates, not from the confession of Agnes

¹²⁸ See p. 29, above.

¹²⁹ P. 179.

¹³⁰ See Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, 1. 218, 233, 237, and especially 239 (cf. 2. 478); *News from Scotland*, Sig. B3.

¹³¹ Ed. 1603, pp. 43, 58.

Sampson, but from the "backward and abysm of time." The lawmakers, cleric or lay, did not learn of this habit from King James, unless they were so ignorant as never to have heard of Lucan's Erichtho,¹³² whom Marston actually brought upon the stage at about this very time in a tragedy which contains a speech, in description of the sorceress, that out-Lucans Lucan.¹³³ But we need not appeal to the classics. Sir Edward Kelley, far-famed as Dr. Dee's skryer in crystallo-mancy, had already emulated Erichtho. Years before, "vpon a certaine night, in the Parke of Walton in le Dale, in the county of Lancaster, with one Paul Waring," he had "inuocated some one of the infernall regiment, to know certaine passages in the life, as also what might bee knowne by the deuils foresight, of the manner and time of the death of a noble young Gentleman, as then in his wardship." The black rites finished, Kelley learned of the gentleman's servant about a poor man's corpse that had been buried in a neighboring churchyard that very day. "Hee and the said *Waring* intreated this foresaid seruant, to go with them to the graue." The servant complied, "and withall did helpe them to digge up the carcase of the poor caitiffe, whom by their incantations, they made him (or rather some euill spiritt through his Organs) to speake, who deliuered strange predictions concerning the said Gentleman." All that we know of the prodigious Kelley inclines us to credit him with an attempt at necromancy on this occasion. Weeever, who told the tale in 1631, had it from the servant who was present, as well as from the young gentleman to whom the servant had revealed the affair.¹³⁴ It is safe to say that the crime of violating graves was as common in England as in Scotland. It surely was an offence quite as worthy of the gallows as sheep-stealing, or theft above the value of tweluepence. And it was natural enough to insert a clause to cover it in the revised law. Now Coke was just the man to do this, for he knew of a fourteenth-century case which showed that the law

¹³² *Pharsalia*, vi., 507 ff.

¹³³ *Sophonisba*, act iv., scene 1, vv. 99-125 (*Works*, ed. Bullen, 2. 290-291).

¹³⁴ John Weeever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments*, 1631, pp. 45-46. Cf. *Reginald Scot*, bk. xv., chaps. 8, 17 (ed. 1584, pp. 401 ff., 423 ff.); Baines, *History of Lancashire*, ed. Harland, 1. 199.

was imperfect in this very point, and he reports the occurrence in his *Institutes*, in commenting on this provision in the statute of 1604.

A man was taken in Southwark with a head and a face of a dead man, and with a book of sorcery in his male, and was brought into the king's bench before Sir John Knevett¹³⁶ then chief justice: but seeing no indictment was against him, the clerks did swear him, that from thenceforth he should not be a sorcerer, and was delivered out of prison, and the head of the dead man and the book of sorcery were burnt at Tuthill at the costs of the prisoner. So as the head and his book of sorcery had the same punishment, that the sorcerer should have had by the ancient law, if he had by his sorcery praied in aid of the devil.¹³⁶

Who was so likely as Coke to instruct the Lords' Committee as to the defect in the former statute in this regard? At all events, his exposition of the statute of 1604 shows how thoroughly he believed in witchcraft, and leaves no doubt as to the general bearing of whatever advice he gave the committee. Nor need we quote his celebrated charge to the jury in Mrs. Turner's trial for the murder of Overbury, as we might otherwise be tempted to do.¹³⁷ Among the magical exhibits at this trial was a parchment on which "were written all the names of the *holy Trinity*; as also a figure in which was written this word *Corpus*, and upon the *parchment* was fastned a little piece of the *skin* of a man."¹³⁸ This was, it appears, a charm of Forman's. He certainly did not import it from Scotland!¹³⁹

I think we may now regard the following propositions as proved: (1) The last twenty years of Elizabeth's reign were a time of intense and continuous excitement in the matter of witchcraft, with repeated trials and a good many executions. (2) The doctrine was not dying out when James came to the throne. It was held with great tenacity, not only by the masses, but by a vast majority of the educated

¹³⁶ Sir John Knyvet was appointed Chief Justice of the King's Bench in 1357 and Lord Chancellor in 1372 (Campbell, *Lord Chancellors*, 1846, 1. 267-268).

¹³⁶ Coke's *Institutes*, Third Part, cap. 6. See *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1829, Part ii., 99. 515.

¹³⁷ Truth Brought to Light by Time, 1651, p. 140; Egerton Papers, Camden Society, pp. 472-473.

¹³⁸ Truth Brought to Light, p. 138.

¹³⁹ As to Forman, see pp. 49-50, below.

and influential, — nobility, country gentry, divines, judges, and citizens. (3) The Elizabethan law was generally thought to be imperfect, and there was strong pressure for new legislation. (4) The statute of 1604 was carefully considered and fully discussed. It was not a king's bill, nor was it rushed through under royal whip and spur, or passed out of complaisance to the new sovereign. There is no evidence that the king took any particular interest in the act. It reflected the conscientious opinions of both Houses of Parliament.¹⁴⁰ (5) It followed the language of the Elizabethan statute at almost every point, though somewhat more severe. (6) In its practical working, however, in James's time, the statute of 1604 was not appreciably severer than the Elizabethan law.

But the case against James I. as a witch-hunter during his English reign is not merely destitute of every kind of evidence in its favor, — it has to meet an overwhelming array of direct proof on the other side. And to this evidence we must now pass. It is quite conclusive.

First, we will consider certain pardons that are matters of record. The list is short — for there were few convictions — but it is significant.¹⁴¹ On April 16, 1604, when the new statute was still under deliberation, Christian, the wife of Thomas Weech, of County Norfolk, received the royal pardon for witchcraft.¹⁴² In 1608, Simon Reade was pardoned for conjuration and invocation of unclean spirits.¹⁴³ This case is mentioned by Ben Jonson in *The Alchemist* (1610).¹⁴⁴ Reade was a medical practitioner and cunning man of Southwark.¹⁴⁵ One Toby Mathew of London had lost £37, 10

¹⁴⁰ No doubt James approved of the statute. He certainly believed in witchcraft and thought that proved witches ought to be put to death. In the *Basilikon Doron*, addressed to Prince Henry, he mentions witchcraft among the "horrible crimes that yee are bounde in Conscience neuer to forgiue" (1599, Roxburghe Club reprint, p. 37; London edition of 1603, p. 31). But the question is not whether he was a believer in the actuality of such offences, but whether he was a blind and maniacal persecutor who misled the English nation, to its everlasting disgrace.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Inderwick, *Side-Lights on the Stuarts*, 2d. ed., p. 150.

¹⁴² *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1603-1610*, p. 96.

¹⁴³ *Calendar*, p. 406.

¹⁴⁴ Act i., scene 2.

¹⁴⁵ Reade stood suit with the College of Physicians in 1602 for practising without a license and was cast, as Gifford remarks in his note on the passage in *The Alchemist*. In the pardon he is styled "in medicinis professor."

shillings, by theft, and Reade invoked three devils — Hewelton, Faternon, and Cleveton — to learn the name of the thief and recover the money. There were several séances, — the first on November 8, 1606, the others before the 10th of the following January.¹⁴⁶ Apparently Mathew blabbed, perhaps because the devils did not find his money for him. No doubt Reade, when he saw that his trickery was to cost him his life, confessed that the conjuration was pure humbug, and so was pardoned. In 1610, Christian Weech received a second pardon, this time for the murder of Mary Freeston by witchcraft.¹⁴⁷ In 1611, William Bate, “indicted twenty years since for practising of invocation of spirits for finding treasure,” was pardoned.¹⁴⁸ In Bate’s case the ground is expressly stated, — the evidence was “found weak.” Of course this was also the reason for royal clemency in the other three cases. We have precisely the same situation that confronts us in Jane Wenham’s case, in 1712, when the judge was dissatisfied with the verdict of a credulous jury and saved the condemned prisoner in the only way open to him, then as now, by procuring the royal pardon.

The bearing of these records is unmistakable. They prove both that James was no bigoted and indiscriminating witch-finder and witch-prosecutor, and that the judges tried to get at the truth in this crime as in others. Here, then, is the place to quote a passage from Francis Osborne, with whom King James was no favorite: “What his judgment was of Witchcraft, you may in part find by his Treatise on that Subject, and Charge he gave the Judges, to be circumspect in condemning those, committed by ignorant Justices, for Diabolical Compacts. Nor had he concluded his advice in a narrower Circle (as I have heard) than the denial of any such Operations, but out of Reason of State: and to gratify the Church, which hath in no Age, thought fit to explode out of the Common Peoples Minds, an Apprehension of Witchcraft.”¹⁴⁹ The latter part of this dictum may pass for what

¹⁴⁶ The pardon, giving these details, is printed in Rymer’s *Fœdera*, 2d edition, 16. 666-667.

¹⁴⁷ Calendar, 1603-1610, p. 598.

¹⁴⁸ Calendar, 1611-1618, p. 29.

¹⁴⁹ Essay 1, *Miscellaneous Works*, 11th ed., 1722, 1. 25.

it is worth. The whole passage is valuable for the light it throws upon the king's reputation with his contemporaries. They thought him skeptical rather than credulous.

There is a close relation between the general purport of Osborne's testimony and the attitude of James with regard to the curative power of the royal touch.¹⁵⁰ His incredulity on this point was manifested at the very beginning of his reign. "The King," wrote Scaramelli to the Doge of Venice, in 1603, shortly before the coronation, "says that neither he nor any other King can have power to heal scrofula, for the age of miracles is past, and God alone can work them. However," adds the Venetian, "he will have the full ceremony [*sc.* of coronation, anointing included], so as not to lose this prerogative [*sc.* of touching for the king's evil], which belongs to the Kings of England as Kings of France."¹⁵¹ And we know that he actually touched for the evil on various occasions, for reasons of state,¹⁵² knowing well that the ceremony could not harm the sufferers and might work beneficially upon them through the imagination. "He was a King in understanding," says Arthur Wilson, "and was content to have his Subjects ignorant in many things. As in curing the *Kings-Evil*, which he knew a *Device*, to aggrandize the *Virtue* of Kings, when *Miracles* were in fashion; but he let the World believe it, though he smiled at it, in his own *Reason*, finding the strength of the *Imagination* a more powerful *Agent* in the *Cure*, than the *Plasters* his *Chirurgions* prescribed for the *Sore*."¹⁵³

Along with the pardons which we have noted may be classed the toleration which James extended to Forman and Lambe and Dee. This is a curious circumstance which has never received the attention it deserves.

Simon Forman was undoubtedly a rascal.¹⁵⁴ He seems, however, to have been a likeable fellow. Lilly's anecdote of his predicting his own death is charming and proves that Forman

¹⁵⁰ See Manly, *Macbeth*, 1900, pp. xvi.-xviii.

¹⁵¹ *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, 1603-1607, p. 44 (June 4, 1603).

¹⁵² In 1604, 1608, 1610, and 1617, for instance (*Calendar*, as above, 1603-1607, p. 193; 1607-1610, pp. 116, 465; *Eboracum*, 1788, 1. 150).

¹⁵³ *History of Great Britain*, 1653, p. 289.

¹⁵⁴ See Mr. Lee's life of Forman in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, 19. 438 ff.

had a good measure of *bonhomie*.¹⁵⁵ It also goes far to show that he put some trust in his own occult powers, though in the main he must have been a charlatan. Certainly he passed for a sorcerer. For years he made a public profession of necromancy and magic at Lambeth, and was much consulted by the ladies. On the 26th of June, 1603, Forman was licensed by the University of Cambridge to practise medicine, and on the next day the university conferred upon him the degree of M.D. How he contrived to obtain these certificates of professional respectability is a puzzle.¹⁵⁶ King James never molested Forman, and the Doctor died peacefully in 1611. The full extent of his rascality did not come out until the trial of Mrs. Turner, in 1615, for the murder of Overbury,¹⁵⁷ but that makes no difference. He was a notorious conjuror, and it would have been easy to find evidence during his life that would have hanged him a hundred times.¹⁵⁸

Dr. John Lambe was in the same kind of business as Forman but was even less reputable. He was convicted at the Worcester assizes on two separate indictments, each of them for a capital crime. The first was for "wasting and consuming" Thomas Lord Windsor by witchcraft; the second for "invoking and entertaining" evil spirits.¹⁵⁹ Sentence was suspended, and Lambe was imprisoned in Worcester Castle. Shortly after, he was removed to the King's Bench in Lon-

¹⁵⁵ William Lilly, *History of his Life and Times*, 2d ed., 1715, p. 16.

¹⁵⁶ Forman was twice imprisoned, at the instance of the Royal College of Physicians, as an unauthorized and ignorant practitioner (in 1595 and 1596). In 1601 he was again complained of. In 1606 and 1607, after obtaining his Cambridge degree, he was cited to appear before the College, but refused to obey. See the records in the 8th Report of the Commission on Historical MSS., Appendix, Part i., p. 228.

¹⁵⁷ *Truth Brought to Light by Time*, 1651, pp. 135-138; Letter from Thomas Bone to Sir John Egerton, November 9, 1615, Egerton Papers, Camden Society, pp. 470-473.

¹⁵⁸ See Lilly, pp. 12-16.

¹⁵⁹ The indictments are printed (in translation) in *A Briefe Description of the Notorious Life of Iohn Lambe*, Amsterdam, 1623, pp. 3-6. They are not dated. The bewitching of Lord Windsor is stated in the first indictment to have occurred on December 16, 5 Jac. I. (i.e. 1607), and at divers times afterward; the second indictment dates the invocation of evil spirits, May 13, 6 Jac. I. (i.e. 1608), and before and after. Mr. Sidney Lee (*Dictionary of National Biography*, 32. 1) shifts the second of these dates, inadvertently, from the *offence* to the *trial*. We do not, in fact, know when Lambe was tried, but it was before 1617.

don,¹⁶⁰ where he remained a long time. But his confinement was not rigorous. He lived in prison quite at his ease, receiving his patients and clients and doing a thriving business as physician and sorcerer.¹⁶¹ He was convicted of a rape committed while in confinement,¹⁶² but the chief justice reported that the evidence was dubious, and in 1624 he was pardoned.¹⁶³ Soon after, he was released from custody and took up his residence near the Parliament House.¹⁶⁴ In 1628 he met his death at the hands of the London mob while returning from a play at the Fortune.¹⁶⁵ Lambe was protected by Buckingham, and was known as the "Duke's devil."¹⁶⁶ But Buckingham was not always friendly. Thus, in 1625, the duke was clamorous against him on account of his connection with Lady Purbeck's case. "If Lambe" — so Buckingham wrote to Attorney General Coventry and Solicitor General Heath — "be allowed to get off by saying he was only juggling [*i.e.* not really practising sorcery], . . . the truth can never be known; Lambe has hitherto, by such shifts, mocked the world and preserved himself."¹⁶⁷ I am far from maintaining that King James's indulgence to such scoundrels as Forman and Lambe was altogether creditable to him, but it certainly tends to prove that he was not a rabid prosecutor of witches and sorcerers.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁰ Briefe Description, p. 14.

¹⁶¹ Pp. 14 ff.

¹⁶² The indictment dates the offence June 10, 21 Jac. I., *i.e.* 1623 (Briefe Description, p. 15). The conviction was in 1624 (Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1623-1625, p. 485).

¹⁶³ Calendar, 1623-1625, pp. 241, 243, 261, 266, 280.

¹⁶⁴ Briefe Description, 1628, p. 20.

¹⁶⁵ The same, pp. 20-21; Rushworth, Historical Collections, 1. 618 (cf. 1. 391); Reign of Charles I., continuation of Baker's Chronicle, ed. 1660, p. 493; Richard Smith, Obituary, in Peck, Desiderata Curiosa, Vol. 2. Book xiv, p. 11; Jupp, Historical Account of the Company of Carpenters, 1887, pp. 84-85.

¹⁶⁶ Continuation of Baker's Chronicle, as above, p. 493. Cf. Fairholt, Poems and Songs relating to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, Percy Society, 1850, pp. xiv.-xv., 58-63, 65.

¹⁶⁷ Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1623-1625, p. 476. Lady Purbeck had visited Lambe in prison to procure charms from him (p. 474; cf. p. 497).

¹⁶⁸ Another infamous person who drove a thriving trade with the court ladies was Mrs. Mary Woods, who practised her arts at Norwich, and removed to London in 1612. She was involved in the alleged plot of the Countess of Essex to poison the Earl. She was arrested and examined, but it does not appear that she was proceeded against under the statute of 1604, although one witness declared that she professed to have a familiar spirit. Obviously she was regarded as a mere charlatan, yet it would have been easy enough to hang her for a witch if the king had

Dr. Dee is in a different category, for he was a profound scholar and a man of a sincere and simple character, whom it would be profanation to class with Lambe and Forman. Yet there is no manner of doubt that his occult experiments (of which voluminous documentary evidence is still extant) might have convicted him of sorcery on literally a thousand counts. His sole defence would have been that he was invoking and consulting good angels, not demons, but the theologians could have made short work of that allegation. True, Dee had been examined on a charge of witchcraft in the Star Chamber in 1555 and acquitted.¹⁶⁹ But his subsequent proceedings were enough to condemn him, and he constantly had to protest against the aspersion of being "a companion of Hell-hounds and conjurer of wicked and damned spirits,"¹⁷⁰ and "the arche coniurer of this whole kingdom."¹⁷¹ In 1583 the mob had destroyed his library at Mortlake.¹⁷² Anecdotes that descended to Aubrey give ample testimony to his fame as a conjuror.¹⁷³ Dee seems to have been agitated by the passage of the statute of 1604, for, on June 5, of that year, while the act was still in debate, he petitioned King James to have him "tryed and cleared of that horrible and damnable, and to him most grievous and dammageable sclaunder, generally, and for these many yeares last past, in this kingdom rayseed and continued, by report and print against him, namely, that he is or hath bin a conjurer or caller or invocator of divels."¹⁷⁴ No attention was paid to his entreaty, but the king did not molest him, and

avored such a prosecution (*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1611-1618*, pp. 134, 161, 173, 183, 187; *Inquiry into the Genuineness of a Letter, etc.*, pp. 17-19, *Camden Miscellany*, 5; Gardiner, *History of England, 1603-1642*, 4th ed., 2. 169, note 1).

¹⁶⁹ See his own account of the affair in his *Compendious Rehearsall, 1592*, printed by Crossley, in *Autobiographical Tracts of Dr. John Dee*, pp. 20-21 (*Chetnam Miscellany*, 1), and cf. the *Necessary Advertisement* prefixed to his *General and Rare Memorials pertayning to the Perfect Arte of Navigation, 1577* (Crossley, p. 57). See also *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1547-1550*, p. 67; Charlotte Fell Smith, *John Dee, 1909*, pp. 14-15.

¹⁷⁰ Dee's Preface to Henry Billingsley's translation of *Euclid's Elements, 1571* (Smith, pp. 24-28).

¹⁷¹ *Necessary Advertisement, 1577* (Crossley, p. 58).

¹⁷² *Compendious Rehearsall, 1592* (Crossley, pp. 27 ff.).

¹⁷³ Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Andrew Clark, 1. 212-214.

¹⁷⁴ Smith, p. 293.

he died in his bed in 1608. James doubtless respected Dee's learning, and he may have been assured of his innocence by the aged scholar's friends, who were numerous and influential, — Sir Julius Cæsar, for instance. Indeed, Dee was styled "the King his Mathematitian,"¹⁷⁵ — a title which appears to imply some degree of royal favor.

James's pardons and his toleration of Dee and Lambe and Forman would go far to show that he was not a bigoted witch-prosecutor. But there is evidence of an unequivocal nature. It concerns the king's personal activity in the detection of imposture. On this point the records are decisive, and, when we consider the prevalent impression as to James's character as a witch-finder, they are nothing less than astounding.¹⁷⁶

First of all we have a charming letter from James to the young Prince Henry. It bears no date, but unbiassed judges put it at the very beginning of the reign, and Sir Henry Ellis believes that it was written before the Prince had left Scotland.

My Sonne I ame glaid that by youre Letre I maye persave that ye make some progresse in learning. . . . I ame also glaide of the discoverie of yone litle counterfytte Wenche. I praye God ye maye be my aire [*i.e.*, heir] in such discoveries. Ye have ofte hearde me saye that most miracles nou a dayes proves but illusions, and ye maye see by this hou waire judgis should be in trusting accusations withoute an exacte tryall; and lyke-ways hou easilie people are inducid to trust wonders. Lett her be kepte fast till my cumming; and thus God blesse you my sonne.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵ MS. College of Arms c. 37, 168, quoted by F. R. Raines, *Rectors of Manchester and Wardens of the Collegiate Church*, Part ii, 1885, p. 110 (Chetham Society).

¹⁷⁶ James has been derided for maintaining the doctrine of witchcraft in the Essex divorce case (see his answer to Archbishop Abbot in *Truth Brought to Light by Time*, 1651, pp. 103 ff.). This discredit, however, such as it is, is cancelled by his conduct in the case of Sir Thomas Lake (involving a precisely similar allegation of witchcraft), in which he showed much acumen in unravelling a tangled skein of malice and perjury. See Gardiner, *History*, 3. 189-194 (1895). Mr. Gardiner remarks that James "prided himself upon his skill in the detection of impostures" (3. 192).

¹⁷⁷ Harleian MS. 6986, art. 40 (autograph), as printed by Sir Henry Ellis, *Original Letters*, 1st Series, 1824, 3. 80-81. The letter may also be found in Birch, *Life of Henry Prince of Wales*, 1760, p. 37; *Letters to King James the Sixth*, Maitland Club, 1835, p. xxxv. (where it is said, erroneously, to be in reply to an extant letter of January 1, 1603-4, from Prince Henry); Nichols, *Progresses of James I.*, 1. 304; Halliwell, *Letters of the Kings*, 1848, 2. 102. Cf. Gifford's edition of Ford, 1. cxxi. (ed. Dyce, 1869, 3. 276); *Quarterly Review*, 41. 80-82.

In 1604 we find James, in his *Counterblast to Tobacco*, deriding exorcism in a style worthy of Bancroft and Harsnet. "O omnipotent power of Tobacco!" he ejaculates. "And if it could by the smoke thereof chace out deuils, as the smoke of *Tobias* fish did (which I am sure could smel no stronger) it would serue for a precious Relicke, both for the superstitious Priests, and the insolent Puritanes, to cast out deuils withal." ¹⁷⁸

Another letter of the king's should be given in full, if space allowed. It begins by reminding the recipient "how that in late time we discovered and put to flight one of those counterfeits, the like whereof ye now advertise us." "By this bearer," adds King James, "we send unto you instructions suited for such an occasion, willing you leave nothing untried to discover the imposture." It appears that the patient was a woman who lay in a trance and had supported life for a long time on one small cup of wine. The king gives wise directions and remarks that "miracles like those of which you give us notice should be all ways and diligently tested." And he concludes with the words, "It . . . becomes us to lose no opportunity of seeking after the real truth of pretended wonders, that if true we may bless the Creator who hath shown such marvels to men, and if false we may punish the impudent inventors of them." ¹⁷⁹

In 1605 Sir Roger Wilbraham notes in his *Journal*, immediately after telling a witch-story: — "The King's maiestie, sithence his happie comyng, by his owne skill hath discovered 2 notorious impostures: one of a phisicion that made latyne & lerned sermons in the slepe: which he did by secret premeditacion: thother of a woman pretended to be bewitched, that cast up at her mouth pynnes, & pynnes were taken by divers in her fitts out of her brest." ¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁸ Ed. Arber, p. 108.

¹⁷⁹ Dated March 5th (no year). Halliwell (from Rawlinson MS.), *Letters of the Kings*, 2. 124-125. It does not appear to whom the letter was addressed. Such cases of real or pretended fasting are common. See, for example, John Reynolds, *A Discourse upon Prodigious Abstinence: occasioned by the Twelve Moneths Fasting of Martha Taylor, the famed Derbyshire Damsell*, 1669.

¹⁸⁰ *Journal of Sir Roger Wilbraham, 1593-1616*, ed. by H. S. Scott, p. 70 (Camden Miscellany, 10). This is clearly the case mentioned by Walter Yonge in his *Diary* (ed. Roberts, Camden Society, 1848, p. 12). If so, the bewitched person was "near kinswoman to Doctor Holland's wife, Rector of Exon College in

The first of these two impostors was Richard Haydock of New College, Oxford, the celebrated Sleeping Preacher. He made a great noise in the world. In 1605 James summoned him to court, where he preached three times. The king felt sure he was shamming. He soon fathomed Haydock's mystery, brought him to repentance, and treated him kindly afterwards.¹⁸¹ The doctor's confession, addressed to King James, is extant among the State Papers.¹⁸² Though witchcraft was not involved, the incident throws light on the king's frame of mind.

King James's detection of Haydock took place in April, 1605. In November of the same year the Gunpowder Plot was discovered. James, it will be remembered, boasted rather pedantically in an address to Parliament that he had unriddled a dark sentence in the Mounteagle letter and so was in effect the discoverer of the conspiracy.¹⁸³ He made similar pretensions in a conversation with Giustinian, the Venetian ambassador.¹⁸⁴ There is a plain connection between his pride in this exploit and the shrewdness he had just exhibited in the affair of the Sleeping Preacher and in that of the bewitched woman, for Salisbury gave out that he and other Councillors had submitted the Mounteagle letter to the king because of "the expectation and experience they had of His Majesties fortunate Judgement in cleering and solving of obscure Riddles and doubtful Mysteries."¹⁸⁵ It makes no difference whether this consultation was *pro*

Oxford." This was Thomas Holland, on whom see Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss, 2. 111-112; Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, 2. 731.

¹⁸¹ King James his Apophthegmes, 1643, pp. 8-9; Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1603-1610, pp. 212, 213; Venetian, 1603-1607, pp. 238, 240-241; letters in Lodge, *Illustrations of British History*, 2d ed., 1838, 3. 143-144, 153-155, 157-160; Arthur Wilson, *History of Great Britain*, 1653, p. 111; Baker's *Chronicle*, ed. 1660, p. 431; Fuller, *Church History*, Book x., Century xvii., § 56, ed. Brewer, 5. 460; Aubrey, *MS. History of Wiltshire*, pp. 362-363, as quoted by Halliwell, *Letters of the Kings*, 2. 124, note; Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, 2. 679; *Dictionary of National Biography*.

¹⁸² State Papers, James I., Vol. 13. No. 80. It is an obscure and rambling document.

¹⁸³ King James his Speech to both Houses of Parliament on Occasion of the Gunpowder-Treason, ed. 1679, p. 7; cf. *Journal of Sir Roger Wilbraham*, pp. 70-71 (*Camden Miscellany*, 10).

¹⁸⁴ Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, 1603-1607, p. 327 (cf. pp. 316-317).

¹⁸⁵ Discourse, appended to King James his Speech (see note 183, above), pp. 28-29 (cf. pp. 30-31).

forma, mere courtly complaisance, or whether the Councillors really got some help from the king. On either hypothesis, the penchant of James for playing the detective is equally clear.

The second case mentioned by Wilbraham was pure witchcraft. The symptom of vomiting pins was regarded by most scholars as decisive against fraud. Thus Cotta, in 1616, in enumerating various tests by which (in contradistinction to swimming, scratching, and other things that he repudiates) witchcraft may be recognized, accepts this as one that is "palpable and not obscure to any eye without difficulty, offering [itself] to plaine and open viewe."¹⁵⁶ It now appears that James, more than ten years before Cotta wrote, had confuted this infallible test. Yet we are told that Cotta "was in advance of his age," that "he published his book in 1616, when King James's doctrines prevailed in full force, and it attracted little attention."¹⁵⁷ I agree that Cotta was in advance of his age. Be it so — but what shall we then say of James I.?

Another undated example is preserved by Aubrey.¹⁵⁸ A gentlewoman named Katharine Waldron, who "waited on Sir Francis Seymor's lady of Marlborough," pretended to be "bewitched by a certain woman." The phenomena were similar to those in the case of Mary Glover, which misled the Recorder of London in 1603.¹⁵⁹ The king "detected the cheat" by a clever, though somewhat indecorous, device.

More than once, when James was unable to investigate these matters in person, he intrusted the business to somebody else. Thus, in 1605, a warrant was issued "for such sums as the Earl of Salisbury shall require, for the charges of two maids suspected to be bewitched, and kept at Cambridge for trial."¹⁶⁰ *Trial* in this record of course does not mean *trial in court* (for it was not a crime to be bewitched), but *test, investigation*. Obviously it was thought that the girls might be shamming. Again, in 1611, the Council sent a letter to the Bishop of Bangor and the Judges of Assize

¹⁵⁶ Triall of Witch-craft, p. 76.

¹⁵⁷ Wright, *Narratives of Sorcery and Magic*, 2. 144.

¹⁵⁸ MS. History of Wiltshire, pp. 362-363 (Halliwell, *Letters of the Kings*, 2. 124, note).

¹⁵⁹ See p. 29, above.

¹⁶⁰ Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1603-1610, p. 218.

for County Carnarvon "to search out the truth of a supposed witchcraft committed on six young maids."¹⁹¹ This was another cautionary measure to prevent false accusation and the arraignment of innocent persons. It reminds one of the action of Charles I. in 1634, when he delegated Bishop Bridgeman to investigate the second Pendle case.¹⁹² We shall have occasion to consider the attitude of King Charles presently.¹⁹³

And now we come to the most distinguished of all King James's exploits in the detection of fraudulent bewitchment. It is a case which, even if it stood absolutely alone, might suffice, in the absence of adverse testimony, to clear his reputation.

In 1616, on the 18th day of July, nine persons were hanged at Leicester. Their crime was the bewitching of a boy of thirteen or fourteen, named Smythe,¹⁹⁴ who suffered from fits¹⁹⁵ like those of the Throckmorton girls of Warboys.¹⁹⁶ Indeed, the influence of that famous case is unmistakable. Justice Fenner, in 1593, made old Samuel recite a formula devised by one of the hysterical girls: "As I am a Witch, and did consent to the death of the Lady Cromwell, so I charge the deuil to suffer Mistress Iane to come out of her fitt at this present."¹⁹⁷ Thereupon the girl was instantly relieved. So at Leicester in 1616 the accused were obliged to say, "I such a one chardge the hors [one of the devils], if I be a wiche, that thou come forthe of the childe," whereupon young Smythe ceased to be tormented.¹⁹⁸ The judges were Sir Humphrey Winch, Justice of the Common Pleas, and Sir Randolph Crew (Serjeant),¹⁹⁹ — the former a member of the Parliament that passed the Statute of 1604.²⁰⁰

¹⁹¹ Calendar, 1611-1618, p. 29.

¹⁹² Calendar, 1634-1635, pp. 26, 77-79, 98, 129-130, 141, 152-153.

¹⁹³ See p. 64, below.

¹⁹⁴ On his identity see Kittredge, *King James I. and The Devil is an Ass* (*Modern Philology*, 9, 195-209).

¹⁹⁵ Letter from Alderman Robert Heyrick of Leicester to his brother Sir William in London, dated July 18, 1616 — the very day of the execution (printed by Nichols, *Leicestershire*, Vol. 2, Part ii., p. 471*).

¹⁹⁶ See p. 32, above.

¹⁹⁷ *Witches of Warboys*, 1593, sig. P2 r°.

¹⁹⁸ Heyrick's letter.

¹⁹⁹ Nichols, *Progresses of James I.*, 3, 193; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1611-1618*, p. 398.

²⁰⁰ He was M.P. for the Borough of Bedford (*Members of Parliament*, 1, 442 a).

About a month after the execution of these nine witches, King James chanced to be at Leicester on a royal progress. He stayed there not more than twenty-four hours.²⁰¹ The Smythe boy was still having his fits, and six more accused persons were in jail awaiting trial at the autumn assizes. Nobody can doubt what the issue would have been. But now James intervened. I will let Francis Osborne (1593-1659) tell the story. "The King being gratified by nothing more than an Opportunity to shew his Dexterity in discovering an Imposture (at which I must confess him the promptest Man Living) upon his arrival convented the Boy. Where, before him, (possibly daunted at his Presence, or terrified by his Words) he began to falter, so as the King discovered a Fallacy. And did for a further Confirmation, send him to *Lambeth*; where the Servants of Dr. *George Abbot*,²⁰² did in a few Weeks discover the whole Deceit. And he was sent back to his Majesty before the end of the Progress; where, upon a small entreaty, he would repeat all his Tricks oftentimes in a Day."²⁰³

The result we learn from a contemporary letter written by a Leicester alderman.²⁰⁴ Five of the six alleged witches were released without a trial; the sixth had died in prison. Nor did the king neglect to let the judges see that he was not pleased with their lack of acumen. "Justice Winch," writes Secretary Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton on October 12, "and Serjeant Crew are somewhat discountenanced for hanging certain Witches in their circuit at Leicester; whereas the King, coming that way, found out the juggling and imposture of the boy, that counterfeited to be bewitched."²⁰⁵

²⁰¹ The king went from Nottingham to Leicester on August 15th, spent the night there, and proceeded to Dingley, on the 16th (Nichols, *Progresses*, 3. 180-181, cf. 3. 175).

²⁰² Archbishop of Canterbury.

²⁰³ *Essays* (Miscellaneous Works, 11th ed., 1722, 1. 30-31).

²⁰⁴ Robert Heyrick's letter, October 15, 1616 (printed by Nichols, *Leicestershire*, Vol. 2. Part ii., p. 471*).

²⁰⁵ Nichols, *Progresses*, 3. 192-193; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1611-1618, p. 398. We can make out a satisfactory account of the case by comparing Osborne with Heyrick's two letters (one of July 18, the other of October 15, 1616, both printed by Nichols, *Leicestershire*, Vol. 2. Part ii., p. 471*). I have followed Heyrick (as being absolutely contemporary and on the spot) wherever he differs

King James's action in the Leicester case of 1616 took instant effect. The clamor of the populace against witches was not silenced, but the judges henceforth used extraordinary circumspection. They had no mind to incur the royal displeasure. The result should be carefully noted. From July, 1616, until James's death on March 27, 1625, almost exactly nine years, only five persons are known to have been executed for witchcraft in England.²⁰⁶ Two of these were hanged at Bristol in 1624, and I have no details.²⁰⁷ One — Elizabeth Sawyer of Edmonton — confessed after conviction.²⁰⁸ The other two were Margaret and Philippa Flower, who were executed at Lincoln on March 11, 1619. Their case is very remarkable. A bare statement of facts will prove how impossible it was for any jury to acquit them or any king to show them favor. Incidentally, we should observe that they would have been hanged under the Elizabethan statute.

Joan Flower was a foul-mouthed old woman, much given to cursing, and suspected by her neighbors of being a witch. She was incensed at the Countess of Rutland for discharging her daughter, Margaret Flower, from service at Belvoir Castle, though there were good grounds for it, and though the Countess had treated the girl with much kindness. Soon after, three of the Earl's children fell sick, and two of them died, one his eldest son. The Earl, it seems, had no suspicion against the Flowers. Ultimately, however, Joan and her two daughters were arrested, doubtless as a result of local gossip. Joan Flower was never tried for the crime. At the time, as it appears, of her examination, she defiantly sub-

from Osborne. Heyrick does not mention the king, but Osborne's testimony as to James's intervention is corroborated in all essentials by Chamberlain's letter of October 12, 1616 (Nichols, *Progresses*, 3. 192-193; *Calendar*, 1611-1618, p. 398). Osborne, by the way, speaks of his narrative as follows: "I will here relate a story of my own knowledge" (p. 29).

²⁰⁶ Mr. William Wheeler's statement that six persons suffered death for witchcraft at York in 1622 (Old Yorkshire, ed. by William Smith, 4. 266) is a mistake. This was the Fairfax case. Six persons were indicted, but all of them were discharged without a complete trial (see p. 63, below).

²⁰⁷ John Latimer, *Annals of Bristol in the Seventeenth Century*, p. 91.

²⁰⁸ There was no torture. She confessed to the minister, Henry Goodcole, for her soul's sake. See Goodcole's narrative, *The Wonderfull Discoverie of Elizabeth Sawyer*, 1621, reprinted in *The Works of John Ford*, ed. 1895 (Bullen), 1. lxxxi ff.

jected herself to a strange test. She "called for Bread and Butter, and wished it might never go through if she were guilty of that wherevpon she was examined: so mumbling it in her mouth, never spoke more words after, but fell doune and dyed as she was carryed to Lincolne Goale." Both her daughters confessed and were hanged.²⁰⁰ There can be no vestige of doubt in any unprejudiced mind that these three women were guilty in intent. They had practised what they supposed to be witchcraft in order to destroy the children, and they believed they had succeeded. We may pity them for their malicious infatuation, but we cannot deny that their fate was deserved. Nor was it conceivable that they should escape it when God himself seemed to have pronounced their guilt.

Five executions, then, make the whole account for the last nine years of King James's reign, and with regard to two of these, there could be no suspicion of counterfeiting. The Earl's children had really died, and the accused had certainly tried to kill them by sorcery. Here there was no ground on which the king's acumen in detecting imposture could work, nor could any amount of caution on the part of the judges avoid the plain conclusion.²¹⁰

²⁰⁰ The Wonderfull Discoverie of the Witchcrafts of Margaret and Philip Flower, 1619.

²¹⁰ We may laugh at witchcraft, but it by no means follows that all the afflicted persons were impostors or that the defendants were always guiltless. The children who cried out on the Salem goodwives and the numerous other "young liars" (as one unsympathetic writer has called them) were *really* afflicted, though the cause was mistaken. Much of their play-acting was a part of their disease. As for the witches themselves (I do not here refer to Salem in particular), it is clear that many of them were malignant creatures who did what they could to get into communion with the fiend and thought they had succeeded. As Mr. Andrew Lang well remarks, "There can be little doubt that many witches were in intention malevolent enough. They believed in their own powers, and probably dealt in poison on occasion" (*History of Scotland*, 2. 352). Others were precocious experimenters in super-normal mental states. I need but refer to Professor Wendell's suggestive essay on the Salem witches (Stelligeri, 1893; cf. his *Cotton Mather*, pp. 93 ff.) and to Mr. Brodie-Innes's paper on *Scottish Witchcraft Trials*, in which this fruitful subject of investigation is broached, with illuminating remarks. Neither professes to do more than raise the question. The undiscovered country of witch pathology awaits its trained explorer. Meantime we may speak respectfully of some of our elders — Wierus, Scot, Webster, Bekker, and Meric Casaubon (not all of them on the same side) — who have made wise observations needing only to be translated from the obsolete technical language of their day in order to appeal to the modern alienist. For cases of genuine and indubitable attempts at sorcery, see, for example,

But the effect of King James's rebuke of the Leicester justices is visible not only (by inference) in the lack of executions. It may also be traced in more positive ways. In 1620 occurred the notorious fraud of William Perry, the Boy of Bilson. The supposed witch was acquitted at the Stafford assizes, August 10, 1620, and the judges intrusted Perry to Bishop Morton, who was present. Morton detected the trick, and at the next summer assizes, June 26, 1621, the boy made public amends, asking forgiveness of the alleged witch, who was there to receive this rehabilitation.²¹¹ James was not personally active — so far as we know — in this exposure, but that it was pleasing to him we can infer, not only from our general knowledge, but from the fact that Arthur Wilson, in his *History of Great Britain*, published in 1653, appends to the story the following observation: "The King took delight by the *line* of his *Reason* to sound the depth of such *brutish Impostors*, and he discovered many." Then, after reporting the case of Haydock, the Sleeping Preacher, Wilson continues: "Some others, both men and women, inspired with such *Enthusiasms*, and *fanatick fancies*, he reduced to their right *senses*, applying his *Remedies* suitable to the *Distemper*, wherein he made himself often very merry . . . but some of their Stories being a little *coarse*, are not fit to be here related."²¹²

Tributes to King James's interest in detecting fraudulent cases are offered not only by Osborne (who speaks of "the charge he gave the Judges, to be circumspect in condemning those, committed by ignorant Justices, for Diabolical Compacts"),²¹³ but by Bishop Goodman, and by Fuller. Goodman's testimony is brief, but to the purpose. James, he says, "was ever apt to search into secrets, to try conclusions [*i.e.* experiments], as I did know some who saw him run to see one in a fit whom they said was bewitched."²¹⁴ Fuller provides

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, 2d Series, 18. 140 ff.; W. M. Hart, *Archæologia*, 40. 397. Examples are countless.

²¹¹ Hutchinson, *Historical Essay*, 1718, pp. 217 ff. (from the narrative). Cf. *The Second Part of the Boy of Bilson*, 1698, pp. 1-9; Gee, *The Foot out of the Snare*, 1624, pp. 53-54.

²¹² Pp. 111-112. For Wilson's own skepticism on the subject of witchcraft, see his *Autobiography*, in Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, Vol. 2. Book xii, pp. 26-27.

²¹³ *Essay i.* (*Miscellaneous Works*, 11th edition, 1722, p. 29). Cf. p. 48, above.

²¹⁴ *Court of King James the First*, ed. Brewer, 1839, 1. 3.

an elaborate *testimonium*.²¹⁵ After telling of the Boy of Bilson, he continues as follows:

"Indeed, all this king's reign was scattered over with cheaters of this kind. Some papists, some sectaries, some neither, as who dissembled such possession, either out of malice to be revenged on those whom they accused of witchcraft, or covetous to enrich themselves."

Then, after giving several examples, which he calls "a few out of many,"²¹⁶ he concludes thus:—

"King James . . . was no less dexterous than desirous to make discovery of these deceits. Various were his ways in detecting them, aweing some into confession with his presence, others by promise of pardon and fair usage. He ordered it so, that a proper courtier made love to one of these bewitched maids, and quickly Cupid's arrows drove out the pretended darts of the devil. Another there was, the tides of whose possession did so ebb and flow, that punctually they observed one hour till the king came to visit her. The maid, loath to be so unmannerly as to make his majesty attend her time, antedated her fits many hours, and instantly ran through the whole zodiac of tricks which she used to play. A third, strangely affected when the first verse of St. John's Gospel was read unto her in our translation, was tame and quiet whilst the same was pronounced in Greek, her English devil belike understanding no other language. The frequency of such forged possessions wrought such an alteration upon the judgment of King James, that he, receding from what he had written in his *Demonology*, grew first diffident of, and then flatly to deny the workings of witches and devils as but falsehoods and delusions."²¹⁷ It seems probable that Fuller goes too far in this last statement, though Osborne says something to the same effect.²¹⁸ It is not likely that King James ever gave up his theoretical belief in witchcraft.²¹⁹ It is clear, however, that, in his later years,

²¹⁵ Church History, Book x., cent. xvii., §§ 54–57 (ed. Brewer, 5. 448–452). Cf. Gifford's Jonson, 7. 140, note 4.

²¹⁶ § 56. The only case that we can date is Haydock's (see p. 55, above).

²¹⁷ § 57 (5. 451–452).

²¹⁸ Essay i. (see p. 48, above).

²¹⁹ The *Dæmonologie* (unmodified) was included in the authorized edition of the king's Works in 1616.

he came close to the opinion pronounced, in 1711, by Addison in a famous passage (echoed by Blackstone): "I believe in general that there is, and has been such a thing as witchcraft; but at the same time can give no credit to any particular instance of it."²²⁰ But we must return to King James's good influence on the judges.

This influence comes out very clearly in the Fairfax case, six years after James's rebuke to Justice Winch and Serjeant Crew.²²¹ In 1622, Edward Fairfax, the translator of Tasso, brought six women before the York assizes on the charge of bewitching his two daughters. The fits had lasted for several months and were similar to those of the Throckmorton girls: the Warboys narrative was still doing its work. At the same assizes, one of Fairfax's neighbors, a gentleman named John Jeffray, accused the same defendants of bewitching his daughter Maud. The grand jury was exceptionally intelligent, including six justices of the peace. It had already "received a good *caveat* by a message from the judge to be very careful in the matter of witches."²²² Yet it found a true bill, and the trial began.

The six women were arraigned on August 9, 1622.²²³ Mark the course of proceedings. All three of the afflicted girls fell into a trance in the presence of the court and were carried out insensible. Sir George Ellis and some other justices, leaving the bench, followed, and exerted themselves to discover the imposture that they suspected. They soon returned, declaring that the Jeffray girl had confessed that she had acted throughout by the direction of her parents. Maud Jeffray denied that she had made the alleged admissions; but her father was sent to jail forthwith, and his charge was dismissed.²²⁴ The Fairfax girls, however, had not been found to be counterfeiting, and the trial of that case went on. But the court was determined to avoid the mistake made at Leicester in 1616. The presiding justice, after

²²⁰ Spectator for July 14, 1711 (No. 117); cf. Blackstone, Commentaries, Book iv., chap. 4, sect. 6 (4th edition, 1770, 4. 60-61).

²²¹ Full details of this case are given in Fairfax's own narrative, entitled *Dæmonologia* (edited by William Grainge, Harrogate, 1882).

²²² Fairfax says this message was delivered to the grand jury in his hearing (p. 126).

²²³ Fairfax, p. 126.

²²⁴ Pp. 123-127.

some witnesses had been heard, instructed the jury that the evidence "reached not to the point of the statute," stopped the trial, and discharged the defendants.²²⁵ Thereafter it was "given out," as Fairfax tells us, that "Jeffray and his family devised the practice, to which they drew my eldest daughter, and she the younger." Fairfax himself was exonerated.²²⁶

Here we see the influence of the king's precept and example at every turn. The grand jury was warned to be careful, the judges were eager to discover an imposture, and, thinking they had done so, yet not daring to trust the jury to acquit, they found that the facts alleged did not bring the case under the statute and took it away from the jury. And finally—as if to leave to posterity no doubt whatever of the first source of all this caution and circumspection—Fairfax mentions King James in the most unequivocal way. His narrative is, in effect, an appeal from the judges to public opinion. *His* daughters, he maintains, are certainly no tricksters; they are in an altogether different category from "*those whose impostures our wise king so lately laid open.*"²²⁷

Nor did the good effects of King James's skeptical temper and of the lesson he taught the judges cease with his death. I can find but one execution for witchcraft in the first seven years of Charles I. Then occurred the famous case of the Lancashire Witches of 1633. On this occasion seventeen persons were convicted, but the judge did not believe in their guilt, and brought the matter to the king's attention. A careful investigation ensued, and none of the alleged witches suffered death. Hitherto this case has been regarded as marking a contrast between Charles's creed and practice and the acts and belief of his father. Mr. Crossley, who is so severe on King James, praises King Charles warmly for thus "distinguishing himself . . . in days when philosophy stumbled and murder arrayed itself in the robes of justice—by an enlightened exercise of the kingly prerogative of mercy."²²⁸ Wright remarks that "Charles I. had not the same weak prejudices in these matters as his father."²²⁹ It

²²⁵ P. 127. ²²⁶ P. 124. ²²⁷ P. 81. ²²⁸ Edition of Potts's *Discoverie*, p. lxxvii.

²²⁹ *Narratives of Sorcery and Magic*, 2. 117.

is well to approve King Charles, whose personal record on this matter of witchcraft is laudable, but it must now be quite clear that he was merely following his father's praiseworthy example.

Our scrutiny of King James's record is finished. No summing up is necessary. The defendant is acquitted by the facts. One final remark, however, may be made, in lieu of a peroration. Diligent search has so far brought to light less than forty executions for witchcraft throughout England in the reign of James I., or an average of about *two a year*. Contrast with this statement the fact that in ten years of the same reign (6-15 James I.) at least thirty-two persons were pressed to death in the single County of Middlesex for refusing to plead in cases of felony (not witchcraft), or an average of over *three a year*, and that, in the same county for the same period, at least seven hundred persons were hanged for felonies other than witchcraft, or an average of *seventy a year*.²³⁰ These figures call for no commentary. We may double or treble the number of witch-hangings, if we will, in order to allow for incompleteness in the published records, and it still remains true that the reign of James I. was not, in this regard, a dark and bloody period.

²³⁰ Jeaffreson, Middlesex County Records, 2. xvii.-xviii., liii.

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BUDDHIST AND CHRISTIAN PARALLELS: THE MYTHOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

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"THE comparative history of religion," says Dr. Windisch, "is not a history of borrowings."¹ No doubt each great historic faith develops its own genius, under the inspiration of the personalities, known or unknown, who have imparted to it the powerful stimulus of their own life and thought. No doubt also the foundation of many of the widespread myths to be encountered in different parts of the globe — the waste and darkness of primeval waters — the world-egg — the wedded union of sky and earth — is to be sought in elements of experience that are common to all. The interpretation of the world around finds everywhere similar events to be explained; the same sun rises and sets; the same moon passes through the same phases; the same senses observe them; the same thinking power combines similar recollections into its theories of the universe and its beginnings; and human life, when it has advanced beyond its crudest forms, is organized in similar relations, and is exposed to the same vicissitudes.

But on the other hand, every vigorous stock grows by contact and suggestion from without. The vitality of any religion is chiefly proved by its power to assimilate fresh materials, and reshape them by its own plastic force. The dictum of Windisch may be easily reversed. Israel would have been poorly furnished with speculations about primeval antiquity had it not borrowed the conceptions of Babylonian science. But for the Avestan theodicy its hopes for the

¹ Buddha's Geburt und die Lehre von der Seelenwanderung, p. 200, Leipzig, 1908.

future would have taken a very different form. And had not early Christianity been willing to receive a loan of the highest significance from Hellenic culture, the destiny of Europe and the world would have run in paths beyond our power to imagine. No *a priori* maxims can govern historical investigation. There is always a case for inquiry; and if any one can prove that the Gospels owe anything to the stories either of Gilgamesh or of the Buddha, he will deserve respectful attention. Doubtless there will be differences of opinion as to what constitutes proof; and the number of coincidences that will be admitted to establish even a probability of relationship will vary from mind to mind. Prepossessions and prejudices are not the peculiar property of Christian apologists.

The really interesting parallels between Buddhism and Christianity lie in the great development which transformed the primitive teaching of Gotama from a system of ethical culture, associated with an empirical idealism, into a transcendental philosophy capable of sustaining a lofty religion of spiritual communion, expressing itself in highly organized worship. The attention of western students, however, has hitherto been chiefly attracted by the remarkable resemblances between incidents in the careers of the two teachers, some of their moral precepts, and the legends which gathered around their persons. Founding his argument partly on the Lucan story of the Nativity, a distinguished English critic a generation ago felt himself justified in talking of the "obligations of the New Testament to Buddhism." The devoted patience and the learned labor of Mr. Albert J. Edmunds have brought together a large number of passages for comparison,² the value of which will naturally be very variously estimated. I do not propose in this paper to discuss either his method or his conclusions. Without attempting to deal with the wide range covered by his inquiry, I wish to suggest the possibility of another line of explanation of the likenesses in the stories of the birth. May it not be the case that there was a common mythological background which supplied a typical form for national or

² *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*, 2 vols., 4th ed., Philadelphia, 1908.

local imagination to cast into its own mould and adorn with its own colouring? The answer to such a question depends on two groups of considerations. In the first place, are there any indications of the diffusion of other beliefs or ideas between India and the Mediterranean lands which would justify us in supposing the existence of such a treasury of mythic representations? And secondly, is there any evidence that it might have contained a description of what was proper to happen when a hero, a prophet, or a god was to be born? Only a few hints and illustrations pointing in this direction can be offered here.

I

The possibility of the transmission of stories between India and Western Asia has long been recognized. Every one knows the tale of the two women who were brought before Solomon, claiming the same child.³ The wise judge ordered the child to be divided and half to be given to each disputant. The real mother, rather than see her babe slain, surrendered her half to preserve its life. In the Commentary on the *Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka* in the book of the Buddha's previous births⁴ there is a corresponding story, where the change of scene and fresh local color cannot disguise the similarity. The child of a woman bathing in a tank is carried off by an ogress in human form. The mother runs after her to recover it, but the ogress denies her right, and declares that the babe is her own. Quarrelling loudly, they pass the door of the hall where the future Buddha sits in judgment. He hears their cries and summons them before him. When their pleas are stated, he bids an attendant draw a line upon the ground. The child is laid across it; the ogress is directed to lay hold of its arms, the mother to grasp its legs: "The child shall be hers who drags it over the line." As they begin to pull, the mother, seeing the child suffer, lets go and weeps. "Whose hearts are tender to babes," inquires the "Great Physician," "those who have borne children or those who have not?" The bystanders give the appropriate answer, and

³ 1 Kings iii. 16-28.

⁴ *Jātaka*, 6. 336.

the infant is restored to the true mother. The dilemma is the same; the conclusion is reached by a similar test founded on the same motive. The two stories seem to be variants of a common original. So far as the literary record goes, the Book of Kings is, of course, far the older. But the tale might have been repeated for centuries in India without being written down. Did it come from there along with the apes and the ivory which Solomon was said to have imported? Or was it picked up in Babylonia in the sixth century when Israel was in exile, and attached to Solomon by the redactor of the traditions of his wisdom? No definite answer is possible, but the acknowledged Indian origin of so many western folk-tales is in favor of the southern reference.

On the other hand, the story of Sargon with its parallel in the case of Moses is of undoubtedly higher antiquity than its Indian counterpart. The text in its present form comes from the scribes of Assurbanipal in the seventh century B.C., but it is recognized as a legend of ancient date.

My lowly mother conceived me, in secret she brought me forth. She set me in a basket of rushes, with bitumen she closed my door. She cast me into the river, which rose not over me. The river bore me up, unto Akki the irrigator it carried me. Akki the irrigator . . . lifted me out. Akki the irrigator as his own son reared me, etc.⁵

A similar tale is told at great length and with exuberant imagination in the huge Indian epic, the *Mahābhārata*.⁶ The lady Kuntī has conceived by Sūrya, the Sun. When the child Karna is born, he is placed in a waterproof wicker-work basket, duly pillowed and sheeted, and the basket is set on the waters of the river Asva, whence it is borne on its course to the Ganges. There the beautiful lady Rādhā, who has no son, watches it drifting down the stream. The waves bring it to the bank; the babe is discovered and accepted as a gift from the gods; and the boy is reared by Rādhā and her husband in their own home. Once more we encounter a wandering tale in a new setting, this time doubtless derived from an ancient Mesopotamian source.

To Babylonia also belongs the still more widespread

⁵ L. W. King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, 2. 88 (1907).

⁶ Third division, *Vana Parva*, chapter 307, translated by Dutt.

legend of the Flood. When the cuneiform story was discovered by one of the pioneers of Assyriological research, Mr. George Smith, it was already known that a similar narrative, afterwards incorporated in the myths of Vishnu, existed in the Brāhmaṇa of a Hundred Paths.⁷ Manu, the mythical progenitor of humanity, is warned by a fish of a coming flood. He is directed to build a ship and enter it, and the fish then promises to save him. When the deluge rises, the fish swims up to him; the ship's rope is tied to its horn; and Manu is towed in safety to the Northern Mountain. There he remains while the waters sweep away the previous race, and thence, when the waters subside, he descends to become, like Noah, the sire of mankind. The appearance of this story in the Brahmanical literature which preceded the rise of Buddhism at once raises unanswerable questions. Was it part of the original stock of beliefs which the immigrant Aryans brought with them and in due time adapted to their new home, or was it a later acquisition which was incorporated into the legendary lore fed from all sources after their settlement? Such tales unquestionably travel far. They may be traced through Syria and Asia Minor into Greece,⁸ where Ogyges, Deucalion, and last of all Dardanos, figure in turn as the hero. The steps of migration may be beyond the historian's ken; but it can hardly be doubted that the Mediterranean stories were ultimately derived from a common source in Babylonian culture. They enter Greek literature at a relatively late date, and Pindar is the oldest surviving witness. Usener makes it probable that the Deucalion story was known to one of the Hesiodic poets at the opening of the sixth century B.C.,⁹ but in the scheme of the Four Ages the Deluge has no place.

The parallel of the Four Ages of the Greeks with the later Indian series of Four Yugas has been familiar since Roth's essay in 1866, though his attempt to carry their source back to the earliest days of Indo-Germanic antiquity does not

⁷ *Sacred Books of the East*, 12. 216, translated by Eggeling. Cf. *Mahābhārata* iii. 187.

⁸ Cf. Usener, *Die Sintfluthsagen* (1899); Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*, p. 151 (1904); and Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie*, 1. 443 (1906).

⁹ *Die Sintfluthsagen*, p. 83.

find favor with the present generation of scholars. Similar speculations seem traceable in different forms in Western Asia. Ewald pointed to one such at the opening of Israel's history,¹⁰ and the clearer analysis of modern times follows it through the stages of the Priestly Code, where the marked decline in the duration of human life is the symbol of the increasing corruption of the world. The Avestan arrangement of the world's history in four periods of three thousand years each, terminating in Ahura's triumph, belongs to a different scheme of thought, founded on the idea of alternate victories instead of continuous decline, though the number four may have been suggested from the same ultimate source. It reappears in Daniel's presentation of the succession of four world empires (Dan. ii. and vii.), and passes on into later Apocalyptic.¹¹ Hindu, Greek, and Jew learned from a common school in Western Asia.

II

The programmes of world history are closely connected with those of cosmography and eschatology, and in this field also India presents parallels of no little interest. The picture of the universe implied in the Vedic hymns is extremely simple compared with the later doctrine of the Purāṇas. Above the earth rises the atmosphere, reaching to the sky; above the sky is the heaven, the home of the gods, the realm unseen by mortal eyes but full of light. The four points of the compass are known, and the earth is apparently divided into four quarters or regions. Its shape, however, is round, for it is compared to a wheel, and it is expressly called circular.¹² Subsequent representations show enormous imaginative development. Long before the completion of the great cyclopædic poem which enshrines so much of the mythology, philosophy, and religion of India, or the still later literature of the Purāṇas, the Buddhist texts reveal to us important phases of belief varying widely from Brahman-

¹⁰ History of Israel, 1. 257 (3d ed.).

¹¹ Cf. Gunkel's note on Genesis xvii. 1-14, in the Handkommentar, pp. 241-243.

¹² Cf. Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 9, in Bühler's Grundriss; Wallis, Cosmology of the Rig Veda, pp. 111-117 (1887).

ical tradition. The world of the devas is still, indeed, under the supreme government of Brahmā. But its ranks are filled with groups of figures unknown to the theology of the sacred books of antiquity. They rise in seven orders from the Four Great Kings and their multitudinous attendants, through the Thirty-three who represent the venerable Vedic forms, up to the sovereign Brahmā, "Lord of all, Father of all that are and are to be."¹³ An extensive folklore lies behind the lists in two Suttas of the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the *Mahāsamaya*,¹⁴ and the *Ātānātiya*.¹⁵ Part of this immense hierarchy is, very likely, the imaginative creation of Buddhism, but many of its lower elements belong to the sphere of popular faith. Such are the various groups of spirits ruled by the Four Great Kings, the regents of the four quarters of the earth, enumerated in the *Ātānātiya Sutta*. This poem opens to us a glimpse into the early Buddhist view of the earth. On the east and west is the ocean — deep, wide-spread — and on the north rises the beautiful Meru with the great northern continent at its base, where the happy dwellers need not labor for their food, as it grows of its own accord, and consequently do not claim things as their own, or grasp at possession.¹⁶

Round this mountain gathered all kinds of pious speculations.¹⁷ On its summit was the heaven of the Thirty-three, ruled by their King Sakka, the representative of the Vedic Indra; and later Buddhist texts vie with the poet of the *Mahābhārata* in describing its splendors.¹⁸ Above it rose tier upon tier of heavenly realms, till the world of Brahmā himself was reached, the seventh and highest order of Deity. With its various grades for the blessed who still wore some

¹³ Among many similar enumerations, see that in the *Kevaddha Sutta* (*Dīgha Nikāya*, Sutta xi.), translated by Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, 1. 280.

¹⁴ *Dīgha Nikāya*, 2. 253.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 3. 194.

¹⁶ 'Amamā apariggahā,' *ibid.*, p. 199.

¹⁷ It was also known to the Jains, *Sacred Books of the East*, 45. 288.

¹⁸ Indian imagination employs the same sort of scenic presentation as the Apocalypse. Indra's city, which has a thousand gates, according to the *Mahābhārata*, is adorned with precious stones, and there are trees which yield all seasons' fruit. The sun does not scorch, nor does heat or cold or weariness torment. Grief, weakness, despondency, are unknown; no one is angry or covetous. Cf. Fausbøll, *Indian Mythology*, p. 87.

outward form, or for those who needed no external vesture but were simple effulgences nurtured on joy,¹⁹ we are not here concerned: they do not belong to the proper Buddhist cosmography. Whatever elaboration it afterwards acquired, this seems to have been at first relatively simple. India was placed on the south side of Mount Meru,²⁰ and the whole earth was said to rest on water, the water on wind, and the wind on space.²¹ The region of the hells is not defined; they would seem to be located beneath the earth, for the wicked Devadatta, like Dathan and Abiram, is swallowed up by the earth, and presumably finds his way through it to his place of pain.²² But the entire complex, with the earth in the centre and all the ranges for sentient beings above and below, formed a world-system (*loka-dhātu*), and appears to have been conceived as spherical. The number of these systems — for they might be indefinitely multiplied in infinite space — was unfixed. In the thousand mentioned in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*,²³ each has its central mount, the same four continents and four great oceans, and the same sevenfold orders of the gods. The Buddha could, if he desired, address with his own voice each one of three thousand such world-systems.²⁴ And the number swells yet further. When the Kingdom of the Dhamma is established at Benares, and Kondañña has obtained the holy insight, a shout of joy arises from the devas on earth through the whole hierarchy to the Brahmā's realm; a shock of sympathy passes through the entire system of ten thousand worlds, and an immeasurable light fills the whole universe.²⁵

Later speculation demanded still further elaboration, and a new term comes into view, the *cakkavāla*,²⁶ as the equivalent of the *loka-dhātu* of the older texts. Its simple meaning seems to be merely 'ring' or 'horizon.'²⁷ But it acquired

¹⁹ *Brahmajāla Sutta*, in *Dialogues of the Buddha*, 1. 31.

²⁰ On the east was Pubba-Videha, and on the west, Aparā-Goyāna; see *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, 1. 227; 5. 59.

²¹ *Dīgha Nikāya*, 2. 107, *Sacred Books*, 11. 45; *Milinda Pañha*, p. 68, *ibid.*, 35. 106.

²² *Milinda Pañha*, p. 205, *Sacred Books*, 35. 292. Four other cases of similar punishment are named, *ibid.*, 35. 153.

²³ 1. 227 and 5. 59.

²⁴ *Aṅguttara*, 1. 128.

²⁵ *Vinaya Piṭaka*, in *Sacred Books*, 13. 98.

²⁶ For instance, *Jātaka*, 1. 48.

²⁷ Cf. the lexicons and Kern in the *Lotus of the True Law*, *Sacred Books*, 21. 238.

a highly technical application. In the great ocean flowing round Meru rose seven concentric circles of rock, between the monarch of mountains and the four great continents. Beyond these again, with their encompassing seas, a mighty range of peaks²⁸ enclosed the whole, and formed the utmost limit of the world.²⁹ How much of this scheme underlies the earlier and simpler presentations, it is impossible to determine. The seven rock-circles are named in the *Jinā-laṅkāra*, 192. If that poem could really be referred to the century before Asoka,³⁰ the whole conception would belong to the period which witnessed the redaction of the four great *Nikāyas* of the Pāli canon. But, apart from other considerations, the silence of the *Piṭakas* seems unfavorable to such a conclusion.

It is not necessary in the present brief study to discuss the resemblances or divergences of the Brahmanical texts as compared with those of Buddhism. The statements of different authors vary widely, and the want of precision in the employment of particular terms adds greatly to their confusion. It may suffice that all agree in placing Meru in the middle of the earth, and in one form or another associate the number seven, not only with the realms of the gods (including the world of *Brahmā*) above it, but with seven spatial divisions, diversely named, which surround it.³¹ Neither in the *Mahābhārata* nor in the *Purāṇas*, however, is there any sign of acquaintance with the technical terminology of the concentric rock-walls. On the other hand, Buddhist writers are silent on the descent of the heavenly Ganges, from the foot of Viṣṇu, upon Mount Meru, whence, after flowing round the city of *Brahmā*, it parted into four mighty rivers to water the four great continents of the earth.³²

The antecedents of this world-picture are not hard to find. Ever since Jensen described the Babylonian cosmology,³³ the belief has grown stronger and stronger that Meru

²⁸ *Cakkavāla-pabbata*. ²⁹ Cf. Burnouf, *Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi*, p. 842.

³⁰ So Gray, in his edition of the text, p. 7.

³¹ Dr. William F. Warren, *The Earliest Cosmologies*, p. 87, supplies an interpretation derived from Hindu sources in the last century.

³² *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, ed. Hall, 2. 119 f. Other authorities mention seven streams. On *Genesis* ii. 10-14, see Gunkel, *Handkommentar*, pp. 7, 33.

³³ *Kosmologie der Babylonier*, p. 184.

is no other than the great mountain of the gods which reappears also in the Iranian scriptures, was within the view even of Hebrew seers,³⁴ and had its counterpart in the Greek Olympus. The frequent recurrence of the number seven is explained from the same source. The sevenfold order of the gods, with their domains above the earth, is parallel though not identical with the sevenfold arrangement of the Babylonian heavens, founded on the sun, moon, and five planets.³⁵ And the seven rock-circles round Meru show the sacred number sounding on, as in the seven walls encompassing the city of the Mesopotamian underworld, or the seven walls encircling Ecbatana,³⁶ till it dies away in the seven ramparts and seven rows of palms which girdled Kusāvati, the city of the Great King of Glory,³⁷ or the seven terraces of Sukhāvati, the land of bliss.³⁸ The significant question cannot but present itself, When was this influence exercised, and by what means?

No definite answer, of course, can be given. Probabilities only are within our reach. One view assumes a common Indo-Iranian origin;³⁹ another, observing that the Iranian months bear Babylonian names, prefers to explain the coincidences between the two branches of Aryan mythology by independent derivation of similar suggestions from a common source.⁴⁰ That Babylonian stories found their way to India before the rise of Buddhism is proved by the appearance of the flood tale in the Brāhmaṇa of a Hundred Paths (already mentioned), which has no fellow in the Avestan texts. The cosmography of which Meru is the centre is quite unknown to the Vedic age. There are, indeed, four "quarters," corresponding to the four points of the compass, increased to six in the Atharva-veda,⁴¹ which appear as well known objects

³⁴ Isaiah xiv. 13 is well known. Cf. Psalm xlviii. 3; Ezekiel xxviii. 14. Schrader-Zimmern (*Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 3d ed., p. 620) find further traces in Isaiah ii. 2; Micah iv. 1; Zechariah xiv. 10; Revelation xxi. 10.

³⁵ Oldenberg's suggestion (*Die Religion des Veda*, 1894, p. 195) that the seven Ādityas of Vedic mythology are due to Semitic influence, has not won much support. ³⁶ Herodotus, i. 98. ³⁷ Sacred Books, 11. 249 f.

³⁸ Sacred Books 49 (part ii). 91. Cf. the seven-walled chamber in which King Dimbisāra was imprisoned at Rāja-griha, *ibid.*, p. 161. For Jensen's comparison of the seven keshvars in the Bundehehsh and the seven dvīpas of Indian mythology, see his *Kosmologie*, pp. 176 ff. ³⁹ So Dr. Warren in *The Earliest Cosmologies*.

⁴⁰ Cf. Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 183 f. ⁴¹ Cf. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 9.

of worship in the *Sīṅgālovāda Sutta*.⁴² They match the four *kibrāti* of the Semitic Babylonians,⁴³ and have their analogues in the Old Testament.⁴⁴ But the Vedic universe is extremely simple. It consists of three "worlds," the earth, the atmosphere, and the heaven of light above the sky. Beneath is a hole or pit, and the wicked are thrust down into the abyss; in the *Atharva-veda* there is a "house below," a place of darkness and torment. These scanty allusions are quite inconsistent with the possession of an elaborate cosmic scheme of heavens and hells. The number seven is, of course, of repeated occurrence in many connections, and Bergaigne conjectured a reference to seven worlds in *Rig-veda* viii. 61. 16.⁴⁵ But these are unknown to the treatises in which the Vedic ritual was embodied. The *Brāhmaṇa* of a Hundred Paths still has only three worlds to deal with,⁴⁶ and the same three still constitute the cosmos of the early *Upanishads*.⁴⁷ In those pathetic sketches of the progress of the soul by different routes to the world of light and the everlasting home of Brahman, or to the moon and back through ether, air, and rain, to the earth,⁴⁸ imagination is still occupied with the scenery of our common life. Even that pilgrimage which leads through the worlds of fire and air, of *Varuṇa* and *Indra*, *Prajāpati* and Brahman, knows no sevenfold heaven. The River Ageless and the Palace Unconquerable and the Throne Intelligence have nothing to do with the summit of *Meru* or the yet higher worlds above. Had this pictorial presentation been brought by the Aryan immigrants as part of their ancestral inheritance of thought, it could not have remained concealed for so many ages, while it becomes so prominent in later times. The part which it plays in Indian literature

⁴² *Dīgha Nikāya*, 3. 180.

⁴³ Jensen, *Kosmologie*, p. 173 f.

⁴⁴ *Isaiah* xi. 12; *Jeremiah* xlix. 36; *Ezekiel* vii. 2; *Revelation* vii. 1, xx. 8. See Cheyne in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, 2, col. 1149.

⁴⁵ *La Religion Védique*, 2. 140. Others interpret quite differently. Dr. Warren sees other indications in the seven castles demolished by *Indra*, *Rig-veda*, vii. 18. 13, etc., and in the seven bottoms or foundations of the (atmospheric) ocean, viii. 40. 5.

⁴⁶ *So Sacred Books*, 43. 314. But the world of the gods has become sevenfold, cf. p. 277. The *Atharva-veda* begins to multiply the series; three earths and heavens, *Atharva-veda* iv. 20. 2; nine earths, oceans, heavens, xi. 7. 14.

⁴⁷ Cf. *Sacred Books*, 1. 31, 70, etc.

⁴⁸ Collected in Max Müller's *Theosophy or Psychological Religion*, pp. 114 ff.

from the fifth century onwards makes its silent retention for a previous millennium quite inexplicable.

III

These considerations may be reinforced from another side. The same sources which first portray for us the stately form of the "monarch of mountains," tell us also that even he will perish.⁴⁹ The Buddhist texts are never weary of the central theme of 'impermanence.' Whatever is composite must be dissolved, and the universe itself was no exception. Over the solid earth and all its contents was written the doom of destruction. The conception which has slowly been applied to human destiny, death, rebirth, redeath, and rebirth again under the law of the Deed (*karma*), was transferred to the physical world. The visible scene provided the field on which the principle of Karma was worked out; and the same consequence of origination and decay attached to it. The terminology of this process is already fully developed in the Buddhist texts. Time is reckoned by vast periods in which the world unrolls itself out of darkness and chaos, runs through its appointed cycle of development and decline, and comes in due course to its destined end.⁵⁰ The evolution of our existing scene after such an interval of silence, gloom, and waste, is described in the *Aggañña Sutta*,⁵¹ which further sketches the origin of the human race, the beginning of evil conduct, and the rise of social distinctions. These periods correspond in the later theology to the slumber and the waking of *Brahmā*,⁵² and the world-destruction is accomplished by fire or water.⁵³ The great conflagration or the mighty deluge serves to point an image for the Buddhist poets also.⁵⁴ But the belief was much more than a decorative device. It plays a significant part in Indian eschatology, and enters literature with full detail in the

⁴⁹ *Samyutta*, 3. 149: 'the ocean, Sineru, king of mountains, and the earth will one day perish and cease to be.' ⁵⁰ Cf. *Sacred Books*, 11. 216.

⁵¹ *Dīgha Nikāya*, 3. 84.

⁵² Cf. *Manu*, *Sacred Books*, 25. 17.

⁵³ A third agency, wind, was afterwards added.

⁵⁴ *Buddha-Carita*, xiii. 41, in *Sacred Books*, 49. 143; *Lotus*, *ibid.*, 21. 241; *Life of Buddha from the Chinese*, *ibid.*, 19. 309.

Buddhist Piṭakas. The process is described in a discourse attributed to the Buddha in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*.⁵⁵ Curiously enough, it occupies a place in his career not unlike the eschatological prophecy of Mark xiii. in that of Jesus. His life is nearing its end; he is sojourning in the grove presented to the Order by the courtesan Ambapālī in the last year of his long ministry;⁵⁶ and he must impress on his disciples the fundamental truth that all things which have come together must pass away. Even Sineru with its vast mass, eighty-four thousand leagues beneath the ocean and eighty-four thousand more in height above it, must cease to be. A time will come when it will rain no more, and plants, herbs, and trees will wither away. A second sun will appear, and brooks and ponds will dry up. With a third sun, the great rivers like the Ganges and the Jumna will fail. At the advent of the fourth, the mythologic lakes which were their sources will be exhausted. The fifth will reduce the waters of the great ocean to the depth of a finger-joint. The sixth will make the earth and Meru belch forth clouds of smoke; and with the seventh all the tiers of heavens up to the Brahma world will be ablaze, and the whole universe will be consumed.⁵⁷ In the vast mass of literature piled on the Veda there is nothing like this.⁵⁸ Whence came the conception of a great world-conflagration? Destruction by water was already borrowed from Babylonia, though it was not conceived on the same cosmic scale, or connected with a doctrine of world-ages. Are we to look beyond the Himālaya for its counterpart by fire?

No such doctrine has yet been discovered in any cuneiform text. But indications are not wanting, nevertheless, that it had a home in Western Asia. The New Testament presents us with a division of time into great world-periods,

⁵⁵ *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, 4. 100. Translated by Edmunds, *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*, 2. 147 (4th ed.). ⁵⁶ *Sacred Books*, 11. 33.

⁵⁷ Cf. Henry C. Warren's version from the later text of the 'Path of Purity,' in *Buddhism in Translations*, pp. 321 ff., where the catastrophe involves a million million worlds. For another development, including fire and flood and wind, see the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* in Beal's *Catena*, p. 170.

⁵⁸ In the *Atharva-veda*, x. 10. 39, "As between heaven-and-earth Agni went, burning on, all consuming" (Whitney-Lanman), Keith finds an allusion to this doctrine of the periodic destruction and renewal of the world, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1909, p. 599.

the age that now is, and the age that is to come; and speculation concerned itself largely with the events which would mark the transition. One great catastrophe had already taken place in the distant past, the Deluge. What would prepare the way for the next era? The author of 2 Peter, following a succession of apocalyptists, answered 'Fire.'⁵⁹ It was an expectation already stamped with the sanction of the past. The historian Josephus ascribes the invention of astronomy to the children of Seth, and relates a curious story of the measures taken to preserve their discovery.⁶⁰ When Adam predicted that the world would be destroyed at one time by the force of fire, and at another by the violence of water, they made two pillars, one of brick and one of stone, on both of which they inscribed the knowledge they had won. If the brick pillar were destroyed by the flood, the stone pillar might still preserve the record; "and it remains," adds Josephus, boldly, "in the land of Siris to this day." The attribution of this prophecy to the wisdom of the first man implies that it was derived from remote antiquity. There is at any rate good reason to think that it may have belonged to the ancient Babylonian cosmology. In the *Naturales Quæstiones* of Seneca (iii. 29), the Roman philosopher reports some of the opinions of Berosus, the famous priest of Bel in Babylon, whose statue was erected by the Athenians, says Pliny, with a gilt tongue in honor of his extraordinary predictions. Born in the reign of Alexander the Great, he composed his three books of *Babylonica* under Antiochus II., who came to the throne in 261 B.C. Many of the statements of Berosus have been justified by recent investigators; and his use of cuneiform materials is fully admitted. Now Berosus, says Seneca, taught on astronomical grounds a doctrine of a great world-year, which would end in one case with a flood (diluvium), and in the other with a fire (conflagratio). It has been held that this conception was founded on the observation of the precession of the equinoxes, which is erroneously asserted to have been known to the Babylonian astronomers. In the world's great year, the deluge would mark the winter and the fire the summer.

⁵⁹ iii. 5-7, 10.

⁶⁰ *Antiquities*, i. 2, 3.

There are traces of a Babylonian cycle of 36,000 years;⁶¹ and there is a high probability that the doctrine reported by Berosus belonged to a scheme already millenniums old.

In the book of Genesis the Deluge closes the epoch of primeval man. The destruction of the whole race save Noah and his family plainly implies the closing of one age and the opening of a successor. The flood, it is divinely promised, shall not be repeated. But in Hebrew prophecy, as Gressmann has so brilliantly shown,⁶² a new element appears — a great world-conflagration.⁶³ The word of Yahweh to Micah opens with a summons to the peoples, a challenge to the whole earth. Yahweh is about to come forth to the vast assize where he is both witness and judge. From the heavenly sanctuary he will descend to tread on the high places of the earth. Fire follows in his steps; the mountains shall be molten under him,⁶⁴ and the valleys shall be cleft like wax. Jeremiah saw the world relapsing into primeval chaos, *tohu-vā-bohu*, iv. 23; one era was ending, another would begin. Zephaniah announced the "day of wrath" when all the earth should be consumed with the fire of the divine jealousy. In the exilian and subsequent literature the expectation blazes more fiercely still. Not the earth alone, but heaven itself and the deeps of Sheol will feel the flame. The world comes to an end by fire, and a new heaven and a new earth are needed. The doctrine of world-periods is not yet defined; it is left for apocalyptists to work out details.

Yet further west, along the coasts of Asia Minor, does this expectation travel. No Greek teacher employed it as an avenging weapon of divine government, after the manner of a Hebrew seer, but it was early lodged in Hellenic thought. The Ionic philosophers were largely concerned with physical inquiries; they brooded over problems of the periodic destruction and reconstitution of the world. Heraclitus of Ephesus and Hippasus of Metapontum were credited with

⁶¹ Schrader-Zimmern, *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, p. 333 (3d ed.); Hilprecht in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1908, p. 708.

⁶² *Der Ursprung der Israelitisch-Jüdischen Eschatologie* (1905).

⁶³ It is worth observing that in Isaiah xxx. 26 (secondary, see Duhm *in loc.*) the expander, or his glosser, does not realize that a sun seven times as bright might also be seven times as hot.

⁶⁴ A special feature of the Iranian eschatology, *Sacred Books*, 5. 125.

teaching the dissolution of all things by fire at a fixed time under a necessary law; ⁶⁵ and Heraclitus is said to have recognised a great world-year, of either 10,800 or 18,000 solar years in length. Whether he actually used the later term *ἐκπύρωσις* cannot be definitely proved. But Zeller regards the idea of the world-conflagration as firmly lodged, from the sixth century onwards, in the philosophical eschatology of Greece. ⁶⁶ Was this also, like the Deluge stories, drawn from the abundant reservoir of Babylonian speculation?

The existence of some common elements of eschatological belief between India and the West finds further illustration in the pictures of social disorder which would indicate the near approach of the end. There are, of course, widely marked differences both of general conception and particular detail. But beneath these variations there are also singular resemblances, which suggest the influence of similar ideas and the operation of cognate though not identical motives. When Jesus says in the Gospels, "I came to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law, and a man's foes shall be they of his own household" (Matthew x. 35), his language obviously recalls that of Micah vii. 6, "the son dishonoureth the father, the daughter riseth up against her mother, the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law; a man's enemies are the men of his own house." But the language of Micah, in its turn, is parallel with that in which Babylonian texts appear to dwell on increase of social disorder as signs of impending change. "Then shall brother devour brother, people shall sell their children for gold, the lands shall fall into general confusion, the husband shall leave the wife, and the wife the husband, the mother shall bar the doors against the daughter." And again — "Brother shall devour brother, the son the father like . . . the mother the daughter, the bride the . . ." ⁶⁷ In the myth of Atarhasis, the age which closes with a judg-

⁶⁵ Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 1. 58, 71 (1906).

⁶⁶ *Pre-Socratic Philosophy*, 2. 73-77. Burnet, on the other hand, *Early Greek Philosophy*, p. 178 (2d ed., 1906), argues that it contradicts the central idea of the Heraclitan system.

⁶⁷ *Jeremias, Babylonisches im Neuen Testamente*, p. 97 (1905).

ment in the shape of the deluge and is followed by the new world-epoch, is preceded by evil years, in which men show enmity to each other, "the mother opens not the door to her daughter, one house devours another," etc. Micah reproduced commonplaces of family disorganization as the precursors of an approaching cosmic event: and Gressmann directed his argument to show that such parallels implied the existence of a body of eschatological doctrine in Babylonia of high antiquity, connected in one set of texts, at any rate, with a theory of the destruction of the world, the particular agency in this case being the Flood.

The story of the Deluge incorporated in the Brāhmaṇa of a Hundred Paths contains no such description of prior moral disorders. Nor does the Buddha foretell any social or cosmic catastrophes before the appearance of the seven suns. The general cyclic conception of growth and decay was naturally applied to his own institutions. In a discourse on the 'Five Dangers of the Future,' recommended for study in the Bhabra Edict of the Emperor Asoka, he anticipates the deterioration of character which will beset the members of the Order, their loss of self-control, the growth of luxury and appetite, the evils engendered by rival claims to distinction, the increase of comfort, and the demand for fine robes. The danger of such decline is emphasized in highly mythological form in the Cakkavatti Sutta,⁶⁸ which relates the decline of human life from a duration of 84,000 years to ten, through the increase of every kind of sin, and its gradual recovery by the return to well-doing till it reaches its former maximum of length, when Metteyya, the beautiful impersonation of Buddhist charity, the Buddha-to-be, will inaugurate a fresh period of truth and righteousness. More significant, however, is the picture in the Mahābhārata of the distresses which will mark the decrepitude of the last of the Four Ages as the appointed lifetime of the world runs out.⁶⁹ The course of the world will

⁶⁸ *Dīgha Nikāya*, 3. 68.

⁶⁹ Two separate descriptions occur in the Vana Parva, chapters 188 and 190. It is impossible here to discuss their relations, or to dwell on the significance of Kalki, the restorer of order and peace, the righteous king, and maker of a new age, chapters 190-191.

be subverted and the signs of the universal dissolution will draw nigh. With the increase of every kind of moral disorganization, life will grow shorter and strength will decline. Barbarian kings will rule over the earth and govern their subjects on false principles. Brahmans will abandon their religious duties, and sacrifice and prayer will be neglected. Ignorance, drunkenness, and deceit will infest the earth. The rains will be withheld; no seed will sprout; famine will breed starvation, and hunger will dissolve the closest ties. The different "quarters" will break out in flame; the stars and constellations will lose their brightness; the courses of the wind will be confused; innumerable meteors will flash through the sky; and from his rising to his setting the sun will be eclipsed.⁷⁰ Here are the familiar features of the apocalyptic expectations of Western Asia, applied to new scenes and adapted to a different social and religious environment. But the essential ideas are identical. How is this identity to be explained except by the stimulus of a common thought?⁷¹

IV

By what channels such imaginative suggestions passed from land to land it is now of course impossible to determine. But a number of indications converge upon the general conclusion that commercial intercourse had a wider range than was formerly supposed, and carried with it more possibilities of intellectual exchange than we associate with the trading vessels or merchant enterprises of the present day. India was by no means a closed or inaccessible country. Palæography derives the earliest Indian alphabet

⁷⁰ Vana Parva, chapter 190, verses 76-79.

⁷¹ Another curious parallel has recently been discovered in a book of Egyptian prophecies, attributed to Apout, a prophet of the twelfth dynasty. Here, too, is a scheme of social dissolution, religious neglect, famine, epidemics, invasion and massacre, the rivers turned to blood, etc. The period of degeneration does not appear to be connected with a programme of world-ages, and no cosmic portents herald the collapse of the universe. A triumphant prosperity will be restored on the advent of an ideal sovereign, who is "the shepherd of all men, who has no evil in his heart, and when his flock goes astray, spends the day in seeking it." Maspero, *New Light on Ancient Egypt*, translated by Miss Lee, p. 231 (1908).

from Semitic sources about 800 B.C.,⁷² whether by the passes of the Hindu Kush, or more probably by sea. The reports of Solomon's trade have been already mentioned. The Hebrew word *qôph*, 'ape,' is an Indian name (Sanskrit *kapi*, Egyptian *gôfë* and *gi'f*, Greek *κῆβος* and *κῆπος*);⁷³ while the peacock, *tukki*, seems to correspond with the Malabar *toghai*. One of the Buddhist Jātakas actually tells a story of a peacock sent by ship to the kingdom of Bāveru (Babel, Babylon).⁷⁴ The peacock, too, was known in Greece, where Aristophanes contrasted it, under the name *ταῶς* (or *ταῶς* as the Athenians are said to have tried to pronounce it), with the common fowl. An Indian elephant is figured on an obelisk of Shalmanassar in the ninth century. Nebuchadrezzar employed Indian cedar in his palace at Birs Nimrud.⁷⁵ Hilprecht found indications of Indian settlements in Babylonia under Artaxerxes I. in the fifth century.⁷⁶ Rice, which the Greeks spoke of as Indians' food, was known as early as Sophocles (*ὀρύδης ἄπρος*, bread made of *δρυζα*),⁷⁷ and its name *δρυζα* is identified with the Tamil *ariši*. Nor were these the only products transmitted from the East to the West. Plato seems acquainted with the fable of the ass in the lion's skin;⁷⁸ and in the Alcibiades I. 123 there is an allusion to the Æsopic fable of the fox and the lion — "the prints of the feet of those going in are distinct enough." In discussing the similar story of the jackal and the lion in the great Indian collection of the *Pañcatantra*, Benfey argued⁷⁹ that the Hindus derived the tale from the Greeks after Alexander's conquest. But the essential element is now

⁷² Böhler, *Indische Palæographie*, p. 17 (1898). On the questions raised by Winckler's discoveries at Boghaz Köi in the summer of 1907, see papers by Professors Jacobi and Oldenberg, Messrs. Berriedale Keith and Kennedy, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1909.

⁷³ Gesenius-Brown, *Hebrew and English Lexicon*.

⁷⁴ Jātaka, 3. 339.

⁷⁵ A piece is preserved in the British Museum. See Kennedy, 'Early Commerce of Babylon with India,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1898, p. 266.

⁷⁶ Dr. Langdon kindly informs me that as the Hindus in question bore Semitic names, they had probably been there for at least three generations.

⁷⁷ Liddell and Scott, *s.v.* See also Kennedy, *op. cit.*, p. 268. Indians followed Xerxes into Europe, Herodotus vii, 65, 86, and remained with Mardonios in Hellas, viii. 115, ix. 31; cf. iii. 38, 98-117, iv. 44 (Macan's Herodotus).

⁷⁸ Cratylus, 411; Jātaka, 2. 189.

⁷⁹ *Pantschatantra*, 1. 381.

found in the Buddhist Jātakas, No. 6,⁸⁰ though in a wholly different setting, and the story is believed to be of Indian origin. Questions of profound interest arise in connexion with other resemblances between Indian and early Greek thought besides the doctrine of the world-conflagration. A century ago Colebrooke called attention to resemblances between phases of early Indian thought and the speculations of the Eleatic school. Garbe and Hopkins have both recognized Indian influence in Greece. The recent investigations of Keith have greatly weakened, if they have not entirely discredited, von Schroeder's plea for the partial dependence of Pythagoras on teachings from the East;⁸¹ but he expressly reserves his judgment in the case of the complex elements gathered under the name of Orphism. Ever since the discovery of the gold plate at Petelia in Lower Italy, with its reference to "escape from the sorrowful weary wheel,"⁸² there has been a growing belief that Orphism cannot be wholly explained from Mediterranean sources; and among foreign possibilities the natural home of such a view of life is India.

V

The considerations thus briefly adduced suggest (1) that Babylonian influences reached India as well as Syria and Greece; and that the Hindu, the Hebrew, and the Hellene all profited by a common wisdom. But (2) they further point to a more direct if scanty communication with Greek spheres alike of trade and thought. Was that transmission all confined to one side? The late traditions which vaguely supposed Thales, Empedocles, or Anaxagoras to have travelled in the East, and definitely sent Democritus and Pythagoras

⁸⁰ Buddhist Birth Stories, translated by T. W. Rhys Davids, 1. 182 (1880). Dr. Macan (Master of University College, Oxford) kindly calls my attention to the parallel between the story of the Dancing Peacock (Nacca-Jātaka, translated by Chalmers, The Jātaka, ed. Cowell, i. 83, 1895), and the Herodotean tale of the misconduct of Hippokleides (Hdt. vi. 126-30. See Macan's Herodotus, ii. 304).

⁸¹ Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1909.

⁸² The series of tablets can be most easily consulted by the English-speaking student in Miss Jane Harrison's Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, chapter 11. Cf. Diels, Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, 2. 480. The later language about the "wheel (or circle) of birth," the "wheel of necessity," the "wheel (τροχός) of destiny," seems to point to the *samsāra*.

to India, may deserve little credit. But they at least imply a belief in possibilities of intercourse such as were open in their own day; and if the popular tale might pass on the lips of sailors or merchants from the Punjaub to the Ægean, there appears no reason why that process should not occasionally operate the other way.

Now the Homeric Hymn to Apollo (? *circa* 800 B.C.) contains a very remarkable story of the god's nativity. It is thus translated by Mr. Andrew Lang. (Eileithyia has arrived in Delos to aid the lady mother Leto.)

Even when Eileithyia, the helper in sore travailing, set foot in Delos, then labour took hold on Leto, and a passion to bring to the birth. Around a palm-tree she cast her arms, and set her knees on the soft meadow, while earth beneath smiled, and forth leaped the babe to light, and all the Goddesses raised a cry. Then, great Phœbus, the Goddesses washed thee in fair water, holy and purely, and wound thee in white swaddling bands, delicate, new woven, with a golden girdle round thee. Nor did his mother suckle Apollo the golden-sworded, but Themis with immortal hands first touched his lips with nectar and sweet ambrosia, while Leto rejoiced, in that she had borne her strong son, the bearer of the bow. Then, Phœbus, as soon as thou hadst tasted the food of Paradise, the golden bands were not proof against thy pantings, nor bonds could bind thee, but all their ends were loosened. Straightway among the Goddesses spoke Phœbus Apollo: 'Mine be the dear lyre and bended bow, and I will utter to men the unerring counsel of Zeus.'

So speaking he began to fare over the wide ways of earth, Phœbus of the locks unshorn, Phœbus the Fardarter. Thereon all the Goddesses were in amaze, and all Delos blossomed with gold, as when a hill-top is heavy with woodland flowers.⁸³

It is a long way from Delos to the Lumbini garden, the traditional scene of the birth of Gotama, the future Buddha.

⁸³ Cf. Theognis, 5-10, who adds that Delos was filled with ambrosial odor; earth laughed and ocean rejoiced.

The spot is guaranteed to the pious disciple of to-day by the discovery, in 1896, of a pillar erected by the Emperor Asoka in reverent commemoration, about the year 243-242 B.C. There, according to the story in the *Nidāna-kathā*, the Introduction to the Commentary on the *Jātaka*-book, the lady mother *Māyā* was delivered of her son. It is a singular illustration of the indifference of the Indian genius to biographical detail that the vast collection of the ancient scriptures contains no life of the Buddha comparable to one of the Christian Gospels. The story of his life prior to the great Enlightenment is apparently assumed;⁸⁴ and the first continuous narrative is several centuries later than the canon in actual record. But its most characteristic features are after all guaranteed as elements of great antiquity, partly by the representation of some of them in sculptures of the third century B.C., and partly by their occurrence within the canon itself in a recital of the early history of *Vipassī*, the first of a series of seven Buddhas, of whom the historical Gotama was the last. The frequent verbal coincidence between this narrative⁸⁵ and that of the *Nidāna-kathā* renders it certain that they both rest on an earlier record of Gotama's birth and youth, which has disappeared.⁸⁶

The incidents of the birth-legend are well known.⁸⁷ The lady mother, *Māyā*, perceiving that her time is near at hand, is on a journey to the city of her own people. Upon the way she rests in the *Lumbinī* grove, and there the hour arrives. Like the mother of Apollo, she clasps the branch of a tree, which bends down for her to grasp it;⁸⁸ and as she stands supported by it, the future Buddha arises from within, and issues from her right side, pure and fair. Four great devas of the order of *Brahmā* receive him, like the goddesses who

⁸⁴ There are some important references to it in the enumeration of eight occasions of earthquakes, *Sacred Books*, 11. 46.

⁸⁵ In the *Mahāpadāna Suttanta*, *Dīgha Nikāya*, 2. 12 ff.

⁸⁶ The proof cannot be given here; but I am glad to be supported in this conclusion, formed after editing the text of the *Mahāpadāna Suttanta*, by the high authority of Windisch, *Buddha's Geburt*, pp. 96 ff. (1908).

⁸⁷ These are related in abstract form as the characteristic events of the birth of any Buddha, *Majjhima Nikāya*, 3. 118-124. Cf. Edmunds, *Buddhist and Christian Gospels*, 1. 169 (1908, 4th ed.). The narrative of the *Nidāna-kathā* was translated by Professor T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, 1. 65ff. (1880).

⁸⁸ Cf. Foucher, *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique de Gandhāra*, pp. 301 ff. (1905).

welcomed Leto's babe. Two magic streams, one of cold water and one of warm, descend from the sky, in which, like the infant Apollo, the newborn babe is washed. In a Chinese version⁸⁹ Indra provides a garment of the finest muslin, and wraps him in swaddling clothes, as the attendant goddesses wound the young Greek god. But they can no more confine a future Buddha than they could a son of Zeus, and the destined teacher, who left the womb "like a preacher descending from a pulpit," stands erect, and announces his supremacy over all existing beings, just as Apollo proclaimed his future function to reveal the will of Heaven to man. And just as Apollo set forth to fare over the wide ways of earth, so did the future Buddha, after surveying the world at all points of the compass from the zenith to the nadir, take seven strides, symbolic of his spiritual sovereignty. If for the Greek poet the earth smiled, and all Delos blossomed with golden bloom, so Indian imagination saw flowers break out over land and water, while an immeasurable light filled the ten thousand worlds.⁹⁰

The resemblances between these two presentations may no doubt be overestimated. An incident repeated in every home must have some common elements wherever it occurs. It is the uncommon elements that excite attention — the mother clasping a tree^{90a} — the painless birth — the purity

⁸⁹ Beal, *Romantic History of the Buddha*, p. 44.

⁹⁰ Similarly in Jain legends, at the birth of Mahāvīra; cf. *Sacred Books*, 12. 191, 251. At the birth of Christ "the heavenly throne laughed, and the world rejoiced," *Oracula Sibyllina*, viii. 476, cf. vi. 20.

^{90a} This turns up again in the account of the birth of Jesus in the Koran, Sur. xix. 23 ff.; in 31 the babe speaks and declares himself the servant of God. Sale (1734) already noticed the parallel with the Apollo story. — The action of the goddess mother in supporting herself by a tree does not seem to have any parallel in Greek mythology. But it is widespread in the lower culture. Mr. R. R. Marett kindly refers me to Roth's *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland aborigines* (Brisbane, 1897), where fig. 434 shows a small illustration of a woman in act of grasping some overhanging branch. The practice also occurs, I believe, in Africa, and the Rev. L. P. Jacks tells me that he was informed of it during a recent journey in Western Canada as a habit among the Indians. In the Apollo story it is possible that it may be introduced to explain the sanctity of the tree preserved in the sacred precincts at Delos. If Apollo was a northern god (Farnell) as against an Asiatic origin (von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff), it would certainly not be original in any pre-Delian story of his birth. According to Euripides there were two other sacred trees in the enclosure, an olive and a bay; but while there is some evidence that both these kinds of

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of men were interrupted." The great event held nature "breathless with adoration": her course was unexpectedly arrested: into the incessant activity and change of the world without there entered a sudden calm. A similar pause in the outward scene accompanied (so ran the later story) the birth of Christ. Every one knows that an early church tradition located the event in a cave.⁹⁷ While it was occupied by the blessed Mary it was full of light,⁹⁸ more splendid than the light of the sun.⁹⁹ The child was born without pain to the mother; angels surrounded him; and, as soon as he came forth, he stood upon his feet, like Apollo and the future Buddha, and received the homage of the heavenly visitants.¹⁰⁰ These are contributions from the common store. So probably is the remarkable description of what Joseph saw when he went out to seek for help near Bethlehem: "I looked up into the sky and saw the sky astonished; and I looked up to the pole of the heavens and saw it standing, and the birds of the air keeping still." On the earth also everything became stationary. The sheep suddenly stood still, and the hand of the shepherd raised to strike them, remained up in the air. The water of the stream ceased to flow, and the mouths of the kids rested on it without drinking: "everything which was being impelled forward was intercepted in its course."¹⁰¹ Van Eysinga finds here the influence of the Indian tale.¹⁰² This is of course possible, but it is not necessary. The idea is as old as the Homeric story of Athena's birth. When the goddess sprang in full panoply from the holy head of Zeus, the world below showed every sign of agitation and sympathy: "the earth rang

⁹⁷ So Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho*, 78, and the *Protevangelium of James*, chapter 18. Mithras, too, was born out of the rock, and Hermes in a cave on Mount Cyllene; Justin, *op. cit.*, 70; Meyer in Hennecke's *Handbuch zu den neutestamentlichen Apokryphen*, p. 126 (1904). Bauer, *Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neutestamentlichen Apokryphen*, p. 66 (1909), supposes that Mary's retirement was for purposes of secrecy, and had no special mythological implication. Very curious is the late Chinese legend of the birth of Confucius, which seems to be touched with Buddhist influence. His mother goes to a cave to be confined. Two dragons come and keep watch outside on the hill, and two spirit ladies pour out fragrant odors within; a spring of clear warm water bubbles up from the floor, which dries up when the babe has been washed. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 1. 59 (2d ed., 1893).

⁹⁸ *Pseudo-Matthew*, xiii.

⁹⁹ *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy*, iii.

¹⁰⁰ *Pseudo-Matthew*, xiii.

¹⁰¹ *Protevangelium of James*, xviii.

¹⁰² *Indische Einflüsse auf Evangelische Erzählungen*, p. 78 (2d ed., 1909).

terribly around, and the sea boiled with dark waves and broke forth suddenly with foam." But the majestic wonder of heaven expressed itself differently. "The glorious son of Hyperion checked for long his swift steeds."¹⁰³ In other words, the sun stood still in the sky.

One final witness may be heard. Ishodad of Merv, about 850 A.D., commenting on the story of the Baptism in Matthew iii. observes :

Straightway, as the Diatessaron testifies, light shone forth, and over the Jordan was spread a veil of white clouds, and there appeared many hosts of spiritual beings who were praising God in the air. And quietly Jordan stood still from its flowing, its waters being at rest, and a sweet odor was wafted from thence.¹⁰⁴

Five separate items meet us here: (1) a great light; (2) white clouds over the river; (3) a multitude of spirits; (4) the arrest of the stream; (5) the heavenly odors. The burst of light belonged to early tradition, as it appears in the fragments of the Gospel of the Ebionites.¹⁰⁵ Scent, according to Dr. Harris, is elsewhere connected with the manifestation of the Holy Spirit. It is not necessary to argue on the line of the well-known reading of D in Luke iii. 22, that we have here to do with the real birthday of the Messiah as Son of God, so that we have phenomena analogous to those of the Buddha's nativity. The parallel to the Baptism when Jesus of Nazareth was supposed to have become "God's Anointed" through the unction of the Holy Spirit is found in that hour of Enlightenment when Gotama attained the knowledge which would make him the teacher of gods and men. It was fitting that the Thirty-two Good Omens should be then repeated. The shining light, the heavenly choir, the stationary waters, the celestial scents, correspond in both stories. One item remains unexplained, — the white clouds. It is noticeable that they are mentioned just before the singers from the sky: may it not be conjectured that it was in this form that the holy companies

¹⁰³ Hom. Hymn, xxvii.

¹⁰⁴ Dr. Rendell Harris, *Fragments of the Commentary of Ephrem Syrus upon the Diatessaron*, p. 43 (1895).

¹⁰⁵ Preuschen, *Antilegomena*, p. 11, l. 13 (2d ed., 1906). In Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho*, 18, fire breaks out upon the water.

became visible? In a Chinese version of the Buddha-carita of Aṣvaghosha we read, "Countless devas delighting in religion *like clouds* assembled."¹⁰⁸

It is quite possible that there is some direct contact here. But was Ishodad right in attributing all these details to the Diatessaron; and, if so, where and how were they inserted? Such decorations may easily have been added in the further East, under suggestion from a faith containing so many similar motives. But they may also be derived from that vast fund of imaginative material which lies beneath all historic forms deep in the consciousness of whole peoples, ready to be called into light by the stimulus of great ideas. In ages when the different national cultures were much more nearly on the same intellectual levels than they are now, it would seem more possible for such a picture-language to be widely diffused from land to land. The means of its transmission it is no longer in our power to trace. Conquest and deportation on the one hand and commerce on the other were no doubt among the chief agencies. It must be enough for the student, seeking to make his way among the speculations of the past, if he can discover such occasional parallels as may imply a common outlook upon life, a common hope for human welfare, a common reverence for the 'fair and good.'

¹⁰⁸ Sacred Books, 19. 6.

SATIRISTS AND ENCHANTERS IN EARLY IRISH LITERATURE

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It would appear from various references in Elizabethan writers that the feature of Irish literature which most impressed Englishmen of the time was the supposed power of Irish poets to work destruction with their verse. Sidney, at the end of his *Defense of Poesy*, in his parting curse upon the disdainer of the art, will not wish him "the ass's ears of Midas, nor to be driven by a Poet's verses, as Bubonax was, to hang himself, nor to be rhymed to death, as is said to be done in Ireland."¹ Again, in Reginald Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, it is said that Irishmen, speaking of their witches, "will not stick to affirm that they can rhyme either man or beast to death."² And a number of writers refer to the destruction of rats by means of such potent verses. In the Epilogue to Ben Jonson's *Poetaster*,³ the author declares that he will

Rhyme them to death, as they do Irish rats,
In drumming tunes;

and Rosalind, in *As You Like It*, humorously compares Orlando's rhymes to those which had released her soul from a lower existence and helped it to achieve its transmigration. "I was never so berhymed," she declares, "since Pythagoras' time, that I was an Irish rat, which I can hardly remember."⁴

¹ Sidney's Works, ed. 1724, 3. 52.

² Ed. 1665, p. 35.

³ Jonson's Works, ed. Gifford (1875), 5. 518.

⁴ *As You Like It*, act iii, Scene 2. Other references to the subject, some of them of considerably later date, will be found in Ben Jonson's *Staple of News*, act iv,

The story of the destruction or expulsion of rats or mice is told of a number of Irishmen in different periods. In fact Eugene O'Curry, who made a report on the subject in 1855, for the Royal Irish Academy,⁵ remarks that he once tried to perform the feat himself, but failed, perhaps because his words were too hard for the vermin to understand! The most famous early instance, probably, is that of the poet Senchan, who lived in the seventh century. According to the Proceedings of the Great Bardic Institution (*Imtheacht na Tromdhaimhe*),⁶ a tale of the Middle Irish period, an egg which had been saved for Senchan's meal was eaten up by the "nimble race," namely, the mice. "That was not proper for them," said Senchan; "nevertheless there is not a king or chief, be he ever so great, but these mice would wish to leave the traces of their own teeth in his food; and in that they err, for food should not be used by any person after (the print of) their teeth; and I will satirize them." Then follow stanzas in which Senchan threatens the mice with death, and they beg him to accept compensation instead. As a result of his verses, ten mice

Scene 1 (Gifford's ed., 5. 271); Randolph's *Jealous Lovers*, act v, Scene 1; Rhymes against Martin Marprelate, cited by Nares from Herbert's *Typographical Antiquities*, p. 1689 (the whole poem printed in D'Israeli's *Quarrels of Authors*, 2. 255-263); Sir William Temple's *Essay on Poetry*, in his works (ed. 1757), 3. 418; Swift's *Advice to a Young Poet* (ed. Scott, 9. 407); and Pope's version of Donne's Second Satire, line 23. Most of these passages were cited in Nares' Glossary, under *Rats Rimed to Death*; for further discussion see an article by Todd, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 1855, pp. 355 ff.

⁵ O'Curry's materials were presented in Dr. Todd's paper in the Proceedings for 1855. He mentions one instance of rat-rhyming in 1776, and another about 1820. Cases of the same sort among the Highland Gaels are cited by the Rev. Alexander Stewart in *Twixt Ben Nevis and Glencoe* (Edinburgh, 1885). A long spell said to have been composed and successfully used by a farmer on the Island of Lismore is given by Stewart on pp. 4 ff. Somewhat different from these stories of rat-rhymers is the case related by Giraldus Cambrensis (*Gemma Ecclesiastica*, Rolls Series, 161) of St. Yvor the bishop, who by his curse expelled the rats (*maiores mures, qui vulgariter rati vocantur*) from an Irish province because they had gnawed his books. This was conceived by Giraldus as a Christian miracle, and is cited, along with the story of St. Patrick and the snakes, to illustrate the fearful effects of excommunication. Still another method of disposing of rats is familiar to everybody in the legend of the Piper of Hamelin.

⁶ Edited and translated by O. Connellan in the *Transactions of the Ossianic Society*, vol. 5, Dublin, 1860. The Irish title means simply the Circuit of the Burdensome Company, but the tale is usually referred to in English by Connellan's rendering, as given above.

fell dead in his presence; whereupon he said to them: "It is not you that I ought to have satirized, but the party whose duty it is to suppress you, namely, the tribe of cats." And then he pronounced a satire on Irusan, the chief, lord, and Brehon of all the cats. But the victim this time took the attack less meekly. Irusan came—"blunt-mouthed, rapacious, panting, determined, jagged-eared, broad-breasted, prominent-jointed, sharp and smooth-clawed, split-nosed, sharp and rough-toothed, thick-mouthed, nimble, powerful, deep-flanked, terror-striking, angry, extremely vindictive, quick, purring, glare-eyed,"—in this guise he came and carried off Senchan on his back; and the poet, after trying flattery without avail, was barely saved by St. Kieran, who killed Irusan as he passed his cell.

Exploits like these doubtless appealed to the English as being particularly appropriate to poets of the 'wild Irish,' whose extraordinary character and customs were a favorite topic with British writers from Giraldus Cambrensis down to Edmund Spenser.⁷ And the story of Senchan itself is old enough to have been known in England before the days of Elizabeth.

The Middle Irish account of the "Great Bardic Company" will be discussed again later. But it is already clear from the passages quoted that 'satire,' or the Irish term which is so translated, is not employed in the ordinary English sense of the word. The poet's victims, whether rats and cats, as in the tale of Senchan, or men, as in many stories to be mentioned later, are not destroyed by the natural operation of literary art. The verses used are magic spells, and the whole procedure belongs in the realm of sorcery. This was recognized by Reginald Scot, who classed the Irish rat-spells with other performances of witches or 'eye-biters'; and by Sir William Temple, who associated the Irish practice in question with the magic runes of the ancient Teutons.⁸ The use of incantations to accomplish supernatural

⁷ British treatment of Irish history has long been a grievance to Irish writers. Perhaps the best way of getting at the traditional accounts of the 'wild Irish' is by consulting the rejoinders of such native writers as Keating in his *Forus Feasa air Eirinn*, or Lynch in his *Cambrensis Eversus*. See also the Rev. Dr. T. J. Shahan's survey of the subject in the *Am. Cath. Quarterly Review*, 28. 310 ff.

⁸ For references to Scot and Temple, see pp. 95, 96, above.

ends, whether of good or evil, is so familiar the world over that this obvious interpretation of the Irish story needs no defence or illustration; and one might at first be disposed to dismiss the whole matter with the suggestion that 'satire' is not a suitable translation of the Irish term for such verses as those of Senchan. There is manifestly a "long and large difference" between these talismanic spells, often half-meaningless in content, and the highly acute and intellectual form of poetry which has been chiefly known in Europe by the name of satire. It seems like an unjustifiable looseness in language to use the same word for such dissimilar things. But as soon as one begins to examine the so-called satirical material in Irish literature, one finds difficulties in dispensing with the name. In the first place, the Irish language itself employs the same words (most commonly *aer* and its derivatives)⁹ for the rat-spells of Senchan and for the stricter satire of a later age. Furthermore, the persons described as pronouncing satires, even of the old destructive sort, were by no means always mere enchanters, but in many cases poets of high station, either in history or in saga. And finally, the subjects of their maleficent verse—often, for example, the inhospitality or other vices of chieftains—are such as might form suitable themes of genuine satire; and the purpose of the poets is frequently described as being to produce ridicule and shame. In short, it seems impossible in old Celtic literature to draw a line between what is strictly satire and what is not; and one ends by realizing that, for the ancient Celts themselves, the distinction did not exist. Just as their poets were not clearly separable from druids and medicine-men, but often combined in one person the functions of all three,¹⁰ so they freely mingled natural and supernatural processes in the practice of their arts. Destructive spells and poems of slander or abuse were all thought of together as the work, and it sometimes seems almost the chief work, of the tribal

⁹ For a further account of the Irish terms, see pp. 103 ff., below.

¹⁰ The confusion among these different classes is well set forth, with illustrative passages, by C. Plummer, *Vitæ Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, 1. pp. clx.-clxii. Compare also pp. 121, 123, below, for examples of the combination of different magic arts by poets and poetesses.

man of letters. And the retention of one term for all these products, at least while speaking of a literature where such conditions prevailed, is certainly defensible, and may be positively instructive in emphasizing the continuity of literary development.

Of course it is not to be supposed that Irish literature is peculiar in the respects that have been described. The combination of the functions of poet and magician is characteristic of early stages of civilization and appears in many parts of the world. Among various peoples, too, the satirical office of the poet has been given special prominence; and where this is the case, in simple states of society, a certain amount of sorcery may always be suspected in the poet's work. But in the literature of the *Kulturvölker* evidence is not always preserved of the lower civilization that went before, and the relation between sorcery and satire is by no means everywhere apparent. In Greek and Latin, for example, there are comparatively few traces of the magician-poet, though the use of incantations was common enough in ancient classical civilization and the terms *ἐραοιδῆς* and *carmen* have a well-recognized magic association.¹¹ The familiar story of Archilochus, whose iambics led to the death of Lycambes and his daughters, shows, to be sure, the destructive power of satire. But it is hardly a case in point, unless it be assumed that an original story of magical destruction has been rationalized into an account of death from shame; and there is no necessity for such an assumption.¹² In general, the satire of the Greeks and Romans cannot be easily traced back beyond a fairly sophisticated age;¹³ and

¹¹ For a convenient survey of the evidence concerning the use of incantations in Greek and Roman civilization, see an article on Græco-Italian Magic, by F. B. Jevons, in *Anthropology and the Classics* (Oxford, 1908), pp. 93 ff.

¹² The story seems more likely to have been a late invention. For the authorities, and a possible explanation of its origin, see Croiset, *Histoire de la Littérature Grecque* (1890), 2. 180. And the death of Bupalus, the victim of Hipponax, of which Sidney's *Bubonax* (p. 95, above) seems to show a confused memory, is of similarly doubtful authority.

¹³ For certain evidences of ancient popular *Spottlieder* in Greece and Italy, which suggest conditions similar to those among Germans and Celts, see Usener, *Rheinisches Museum*, 56. 1 ff.; Hirt, *Die Indogermanen* (1905), 2. 478-479, 723. One cannot help suspecting in the light of the Irish material to be here discussed, that there was more of a magic element than Usener recognized in the old Italic poems of abuse.

the satire of modern Europe, it may be added, is in large measure classical and literary in origin.

Better parallels to the Irish situation are furnished by the popular poetry of ancient Arabia. There, according to an opinion which has found favour with Arabic scholars, the common name of the poet, *Shā'ir*, meant originally 'the knowing one, the one possessed of supernatural knowledge.'¹⁴ There, as in Ireland, the satirical function of the order is very conspicuous. Men give the poets rich gifts to escape disfavor, or place them under restraint and punishment as dangerous persons. In one instance, it is said, the Calif Al-Mansur abandoned marriage with a noble woman of the Taghlib for fear of the effects of a satire which Djarir had pronounced against her. A large number of the old Arabic satires have been preserved, and with regard to them, as with regard to the Irish poems, it is hard to say how far they are real lampoons and how far incantations.¹⁵ The supernatural element, so far as the present writer has observed, is less emphasized in the Arabic than in the Irish, and there is more real satire, more genuine mockery or criticism, in the Arabic verses. The Arabs had perhaps advanced a step farther than the Irish from the stage of the magician-poet.¹⁶ But, on the whole, the similarity between the two literatures in the matters under discussion is most striking and instructive.

Among the peoples of central and northern Europe it can hardly be doubted that conditions like those of the Irish once prevailed, though evidence on the subject is comparatively scanty. Incantations make up an important element in the popular poetry of the Finns, and Comparetti

¹⁴ For a full statement of the theory see Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur Arabischen Philologie* (Leiden, 1896), pp. 1-105. Goldziher's article contains much material of interest to students of European popular poetry. His main conclusion is briefly restated and indorsed by M. J. de Goeje, *Die Arabische Literatur*, in *Kultur der Gegenwart*, *Orientalische Literaturen*, pp. 134 ff. Compare also Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* (1901), pp. 7 ff.

¹⁵ Professor G. F. Moore called the writer's attention to the fact that Rückert, in his translation of the *Hamāsa*, employed the term *Schmählieder* for all such poems, just as writers on Irish have called them 'satires.' Freytag, similarly, in his edition of the *Hamāsa*, translated the Arabic subtitle (*Bāb el-Hija'*) as *Caput Satyrarum*, and the Arabic *Hija'* has acquired this general sense. But Goldziher (see particularly pp. 26 ff. of his article) argues that it meant originally a curse or spell; thus it constitutes an interesting parallel to the development of the Irish *aer*.

¹⁶ This is consistent with the view expressed by De Goeje, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

has argued effectively to show that the primary sense of the Finnish *runo* was a magic spell.¹⁷ But it is not clear that there was much development in the direction of personal satire. In old Germanic poetry there can be no question as to the prevalence of the *Zauberlied*,¹⁸ and there is also testimony, though not so abundant as one could wish, to the existence of the *Spottlied* from a very early time.¹⁹ That the two types probably stood in close relation, it is one of the purposes of the present discussion to show. But the existence of the destructive satirists on Germanic territory is not altogether a matter of inference. Their practices seem to be contemplated in an ecclesiastical canon of the year 744.²⁰ A definite case also seems to be furnished by the story of *Hug timidus*, in the ninth century, whose servants sang against him and inspired such terror that the victim did not dare step out of doors.²¹ Coming down to later ages, it is well known that in Iceland of the saga period, satirical poems were greatly feared and the poets were strictly dealt with in the laws;²² and even in the seventeenth century

¹⁷ See Comparetti, *Il Kalevala, o la Poesia Tradizionale dei Finni* (Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Roma, 1891), pp. 23 ff.

¹⁸ See E. Mogk, *Kelten und Nordgermanen*, p. 12; also his article in the *Arkiv for Nordisk Filologi*, 17, 277 ff. In the latter place he even argues that the *Zauberlied* was the chief form of early Germanic poetry, and that the oldest Germanic names for poems (*ljóð*, *galdr*, and the Finnish *runo*, borrowed from Germanic) had reference primarily to spells.

¹⁹ For evidence concerning early *Spottlieder* see Kögel's *Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 1, part i, pp. 55 ff., 208; vol. 1, part ii, pp. 164-165; also Kögel's article in Paul's *Grundriss* (2d ed.), 2, 48 ff., 68 ff. The very early instance mentioned in Ausonius (*Mosella*, 167), of the *probra* sung against *seris cultoribus* among the Treviri has been counted by some scholars as Germanic, and by others as Celtic, or even as Roman. See Kögel, vol. 1, part i, p. 55; C. Jullian, *Rev. Arch.* 40, 321; Martin, *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1893, p. 128. Brandl, in his article on *Altenglische Literaturgeschichte*, in Paul's *Grundriss*, 2d edition, 2, 974, mentions the Anglo-Saxon *dreamas*, '*gesellschaftliche Lieder*,' and conjectures that the *Spottlied* (*bismarkeþ*) must have figured prominently among them.

²⁰ On the canon see Müllenhoff in Haupt's *Zeitschrift*, 9, 130. There is some doubt, it should be said, concerning its application to Germanic conditions; and in general, as Professor Wiener has collected material to show, it is necessary to be cautious in deriving from ecclesiastical canons, which were taken over literally from one council to another, evidences as to local beliefs and practices.

²¹ The story is told in Thegan's *Life of Louis the Pious*, chapter 28, and is cited by Kögel, *Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 1, part i, p. 208.

²² Cf. Weinhold, *Altnordisches Leben*, pp. 341 ff., 465; Finnur Jonsson, *Den Oldnorske og Oldlandske Litteraturs Historie*, 2, 18, 139-139; and for a number of references to sagas, Vigfusson's *Dictionary*, under *danz*, *flim*, and *nid*.

Isaac de la Peyrère, a French traveller in Iceland, testified to the belief that the wound given by a mad dog was "scarce more dangerous than [the] venomous satyrs" of the poets.²³ It is possible, moreover, that the common name for a poet in the West Germanic languages (Anglo-Saxon *scop*, Old High German *scof*) contains the same root as the verb 'to scoff.' The etymology is not well enough established to be used as proof of the importance of satirical verse among the West Germanic peoples; but on the other hand, such evidence from other literatures as has here been presented removes any serious objection, on semasiological grounds, to the association of the two groups of words.²⁴

The poets of the Celts seem to have been famous, even in antiquity, for their use of satire and malediction. One of the oldest classical references to Celtic literature, a well-known passage in Diodorus Siculus, perhaps derived by him from Posidonius, says that the bards, "singing to instruments like lyres, praise some men and abuse others."²⁵ And down

²³ The quotation is from the English version of the *Relation de l'Islande* of La Peyrère (in Churchill's Collection of Voyages and Travels) (1704), 2. 487. See Farley, *Scandinavian Influences in the English Romantic Movement* (Harvard Studies and Notes, vol. 10), pp. 19 ff.

²⁴ On the etymology of *scop* there is still considerable difference of opinion. The word was formerly held to have a long vowel and was brought into connection with *scieppan* (compare the relation of *ποιητής* and *ποιέω*). When the vowel was seen to be short, this etymology became harder to support; but Kögel in his *Literaturgeschichte*, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 140 ff., still defended it, assuming a theoretic **skupó-* with *Tiefstufe* of the *Ablaut*. In Paul's *Grundriss*, 2d ed., 2. 34, however, he changed his explanation and proposed to connect the word with the root *seq-, sqa-*, in *sequere*, Lat. *insere*, and perhaps the Anglo-Saxon *specan*. In favor of the association with 'scoff' see Kluge, *Engl. Stud.* 8. 480, quoted with approval by Gummere, *Old English Ballads* (1894), p. xxxii. This explanation is adopted in the *New English Dictionary*, under *scop*, and in Torp's *Wortschatz der Germanischen Spracheinheit* (Fick's *Wörterbuch*), 3. 469. The Irish *fáith*, 'poet' (cognate with Lat. *vates*), and the Welsh *gwawd*, 'mockery,' perhaps show a similar relation in meaning. See Zimmer, *Die Keltischen Literaturen* (in *Kultur der Gegenwart*), p. 77, n. The old Norse *skald*, if related to *scold*, *schelten*, etc., would furnish another parallel. This etymology, defended in Vigfusson's *Dictionary*, p. 541, is rejected by several later writers, though no other has been clearly established in its place. Compare Lidén in Paul and Brauné's *Beiträge*, 15. 507 ff.; Mogk, in Paul's *Grundriss*, 2d ed., 2. 657; and F. Jonsson, *Litteratur Historie*, 1. 329 ff.

²⁵ Diodorus, v. 31. 2. ὅτιοι δὲ μετ' ὀργάνων ταῖς λόποις ὁμοίως ᾄδοντες οὐς μὲν ὑμνοῦσιν, οὐς δὲ βλασφημοῦσι. M. Camille Jullian, in a discussion of this passage (in *Revue Archéologique*, 40. 321), cites also classical testimony on the use by the ancient Celts of invectives in battle. This custom, which is frequently referred to

to modern times, in both the main branches of Celtic literature, the Gaelic and the Brythonic, the twofold function of the bards, to praise and to blame, has been well recognized and freely exerted. Their supernatural power, too, has never ceased to be feared; and it was related of no less a poet than Dafydd ap Gwilym, almost a contemporary of Chaucer, that he killed a literary antagonist by the virulence of his verse.²⁶ On the whole, as might be expected, the magic aspect of the satirist's work was more emphasized in the early ages of lower civilization, and it is consequently conspicuous in Irish literature, which preserves most abundant evidence concerning those periods. Irish also exhibits very clearly the close connection between the poetry of magic malediction and the poetry of mockery and abuse, and shows the importance of satire, of whatever sort, as an element in the life of simple peoples. Numerous provisions concerning satirists appear in the ancient law of the land; their maledictions are even recognized among the sanctions of treaties; rules for the making of satires are laid down in the native treatises on poetry; and in the ancient popular sagas the part of satirist is played again and again by important poets, whose power often determines the fate of great national heroes.

Some of the evidence of these peculiar conditions will be taken up in the pages that follow. But a brief explanation of the Irish terms for satire ought perhaps to be given first. Satirists are often referred to in Irish texts by the general words for poet (*file*, *bard*, *licerd*, *aes dana*, etc.), druid (*druí*), or seer (*fáith*); and it has already been pointed out that the classes named are freely confused, or at least exchange their functions, in the older sagas.²⁷ With specific reference to satire the terms most frequently employed are *aer* and *cáined* and their derivatives. Common use is also made of *ainmed*, 'blemishing,' *imdergad*, 'reddening,' and *rindad*, 'cutting'; all of which seem to have reference primarily

in both Celtic and Germanic sagas, is closely related to the other forms of satire under consideration. See Goldziher, *Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie*, pp. 26-27, for similar observations with regard to Arabic.

²⁶ For the strife between Dafydd and Rhys Meigen see *Barddoniaeth Dafydd ap Gwilym* (1789), pp. xi. ff., 452 ff.; also L. C. Stern in the *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 7. 26 ff.

²⁷ See p. 98, above.

to the physical effects of the satirist's attack. Somewhat less frequent in occurrence are *ail*, 'disgrace,' *aithgiud*, 'sharpening' (?), *aithisiugud*, 'reviling,' *ainfhialad*, 'dishonoring,' *cuitbiud*, 'laughter, ridicule,' *ecnad*, 'reviling' (sometimes used in the religious sense of 'blaspheming'), *mifhoclad*, 'speaking ill,' and *sinnad*, of which the primary sense is not clear. The word *glám*, especially in the phrase *glám dichenn*, usually refers to a special form of incantation which will be described later, but it is sometimes more loosely employed;²⁸ and *groma*, likewise, appears in the laws to be associated with a particular process called the *glas-gabail*.²⁹ Of only occasional, or even rare, occurrence are *dul*, explained in Cormac's Glossary as *cainte*, 'satirist';³⁰ *runa*, once used in the laws for satires;³¹ and *bired* or *berach*, uncertain both in form and in meaning, but apparently applied to a woman-satirist in a passage of the laws.³² The word *croasan*, also, of which the usual meaning is 'juggler' or 'buffoon,' sometimes means 'satirist' as well.³³ Names for satire and the practitioners of the art are thus seen to be rather numerous in the Irish language, and they describe various aspects of the satirists' work. Some of them are restricted in application, but the majority are used loosely, and appear frequently in combinations of two or three even when referring to a single satirical performance. It is noteworthy, moreover, that in their use no distinction is made, or at all events steadily maintained, between the natural and the supernatural, between the satire of magic malediction and the satire of mockery or abuse.

To come to the actual accounts of the Irish satirists, frequent mention of them is made in the various tracts of the Brehon laws, which preserve, as is well known, most

²⁸ For the *glám dichenn* see p. 108, below; for other uses of the word, and some suggestions as to its fundamental meaning, see Windisch's edition of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge* (Irische Texte, Extraband), p. 241.

²⁹ On the *glas-gabail* see p. 106, below.

³⁰ For references to satire in Cormac's Glossary see pp. 109 ff., below.

³¹ Ancient Laws, ed. O'Curry, 5. 230.

³² *Ibid.* 5. 456 ff.

³³ See Todd's edition of the Irish version of Nennius (Irish Archaeological Society, 1848), p. 162; also Kuno Meyer's Contributions to Irish Lexicography, under *croasan*. A peculiar use of the word appears in the *Senadh Saighri*, ed. by Meyer in the Gaelic Journal, 4. 108.

valuable evidence of the conditions of ancient Irish life. It is clear that satirical attacks were a common form of injury in all classes of society.³⁴ In the law of distress (*i.e.* the law relating to the seizure of property to be held for the enforcement of a claim) it is provided that three days' stay shall regularly be allowed in cases of ordinary satire, slander, betrayal, or false witness;³⁵ but five days' stay is the prescribed period for other offences, among which are the blemish of a nickname, satirizing a man after his death, and satire of exceptional power (?).³⁶ In these passages satire is classified with "crimes of the tongue." Elsewhere, as in the law relating to *eric*-fines, satirizing and assault are treated together,³⁷ and again, these two forms of injury are associated with the stealing of a man's cattle or the violation of his wife.³⁸ The damages allowed for satire, as for other injuries, depend in part upon the rank of the person injured. It is more serious to satirize a king's son than a lower chief,³⁹ and a henchman has a smaller indemnity than a chief of *aire-fene* rank.⁴⁰ From several places it appears that satire was in some way to be resisted;⁴¹ and a distinction is made between lawful and unlawful satire, comparable, as O'Curry has pointed out, to the distinction in the English law of libel.⁴² Just as in the case of fasting against an enemy or a debtor — a familiar old Irish method of enforcing a claim or extorting a benefit⁴³ — so in this matter of persecution by poets, the law seems to have recognized, and to have sought to regulate, an ancient custom which was liable to dangerous abuse.

³⁴ With the references to satire in the Irish laws should be compared the treatment of the subject in Italic and Germanic laws, already referred to. See particularly Usener on *Italische Volksjustiz* in *Rheinisches Museum*, 56. 1 ff., and Weinhold, *Altnordisches Leben*, pp. 341 ff.

³⁵ *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, 1. 152, 162, 231 (published by the Government, Dublin, 1865-1901). The language of the English translation is quoted, except where there is special reason to depart from it.

³⁶ *Ancient Laws*, 1. 185, 237. The last phrase is translated conjecturally. See d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Études sur le Droit Celtique*, 2. 181. For discussion of certain inconsistencies in the laws of distress, see the same work, 2. 159 ff.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 2. 156; 5. 143, 156.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 5. 512.

³⁹ *Ibid.* 2. 156.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* 4. 348, 352.

⁴¹ *Ibid.* 5. 168, 172.

⁴² *Ibid.* 1. 58; 5. 168, 172, 388. For O'Curry's comment see the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, 1855, p. 357.

⁴³ On fasting as a means of distraint, see an article by the present writer in the Putnam Anniversary Volume (Cedar Rapids, Ia., 1909), pp. 567 ff.

In the treatise on Customary Law there is a general analysis of crime (Irish *éited*, a term which apparently had the general meaning of 'excess' or 'abnormality'), and several kinds of satire are mentioned, though the distinctions among them are not made very clear.⁴⁴ *Éited* of words is said to comprise spying, satirizing, and nicknaming. 'White *éited*' is distinguished from 'black *éited*,' the white of flattery from the black of satire. 'Speckled *éited*' is explained as referring to the three words of warning, *gromfa gromfa, glamfa glamfa, aerfa aerfa*, which the English translator of the laws, for lack of specific equivalents, renders "I will *grom*-satirize, I will *grom*-satirize; I will *glam*-satirize, I will *glam*-satirize; I will satirize, I will satirize." *Aeraim* (future *aerfa*) is the most usual word for 'satirize,' as already stated;⁴⁵ *glamfa* is said by the Irish commentator on the passage to refer to the *glam dichenn*, which will be described later;⁴⁶ and *gromfa* is similarly connected with the *glas-gabail*, a procedure of uncertain character.⁴⁷ That 'speckled *éited*' is fundamentally of magical nature is clear from the whole account of it.

Another legal compilation, the Heptads,⁴⁸ designates seven kinds of satire and discusses the 'honor-price' appropriate to each: "There are with the Feine seven kinds of satire for which *dire* is estimated; a nickname which clings; recitation of a satire of insults in his absence; to satirize the face; to laugh on all sides; to sneer at his form; to magnify a blemish; satire which is written by a bard who is far away, and which is recited."⁴⁹ This classification, which is clearly the product of custom rather than of pure logic, is not altogether clear, even with the glosses of the native commentators. But the passage shows the usual association of mockery, invective, and magical injury. It is followed by

⁴⁴ Ancient Laws, 3. 92 ff. ⁴⁵ See p. 103, above. ⁴⁶ See p. 108, below.

⁴⁷ The *glas-gabail* is mentioned, but not explained, in the Ancient Laws, 5. 216. In the same volume, p. 230, it is glossed *glama gnuisi*, 'satirizing the face.' If this refers to the disfigurement by blisters, the *glas-gabail* does not seem to be anything very different from the *glam dichenn*, at least in its effects.

⁴⁸ Ancient Laws, 5. 228.

⁴⁹ The last sentence contains one or two obscure words which are not translated. With regard to the distinction between author and reciter, it is to be noted that the Roman Twelve Tables provided for the punishment of both (*si quis occentauisset siue carmen condidisset*). Cf. Usener, *Rheinisches Museum*, 56. 3.

regulations, which need not be repeated here, concerning the payment of honor-price to the aggrieved man and his descendants.

In decidedly the greater number of passages in the laws satire is treated as a kind of misdemeanor and the satirist condemned. Thus satirists are classed among the men for whom no one may go surety;⁵⁰ and woman-satirists, along with thieves, liars, and bush-strumpets, are said to have no claim to an honor-price.⁵¹ Similarly, the son of a woman-satirist, like the son of a bondmaid, is declared to be ineligible to chieftaincy.⁵² And the same disparagement of the class appears in the definition of a demon-banquet as "a banquet given to the sons of death and bad men, *i.e.* to lewd persons and satirists, and jesters, and buffoons, and mountebanks, and outlaws, and heathens, and harlots, and bad people in general; which is not given for earthly obligation or for heavenly reward — such a feast is forfeited to the demon."⁵³ In all these places reference seems to be made primarily to a low sort of sorcerers and traffickers in personal abuse. But the satirist was not always so conceived by the makers of the laws. Just as there was a distinction, already referred to, between lawful and unlawful satire, so the poet was sometimes praised and rewarded, rather than blamed, for his exercise of the satirizing function. It may be doubted whether an honor or a reproach to the order is implied by the law that puts the house of a satirist, along with that of a king and that of a thief, among those into which it is forbidden to drive cattle seized in distraint;⁵⁴ but other references are less ambiguous. Because of his office as eulogist and satirist alike, the poet is mentioned among the men who have the special privilege of speaking in public.⁵⁵ In another place, poets are declared to have peculiar rights and claims because of their services in composing lawful praise on the one hand, and on the other

⁵⁰ Ancient Laws, 5. 225. Cf. also d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Études sur le Droit Celtique*, 2. 26.

⁵¹ Ancient Laws, 176. For the association with strumpets, cf. also pp. 202-204.

⁵² Ancient Laws, 5. 456.

⁵³ *Ibid.* 3. 25.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* 5. 266-268. Compare also the law (5. 235) which exempts poets, with kings, bishops, insane men, and others, from responsibility for paying their sons' debts.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 1. 19.

hand, in levying taxes in territories where 'points of satire' are regarded and where 'points of weapons' are not.⁵⁶ And the same power of the poets which is reckoned as a means of enforcing tribute, is also invoked in treaties as a sanction of their observance.⁵⁷ The satire employed for such purposes was doubtless for the most part wizardry, but it may have included some ridicule and some appeal to the public opinion of the tribe.⁵⁸ At all events, by virtue of its exercise, the satirists obtained a considerable degree of recognition as public servants.

The formal recognition, and even the Christian adoption, of the old satire, with all its magic elements, is further strongly implied in the prescription of the ceremony for the *glám-dichenn*. This is preserved, not in the laws, though the *glám-dichenn* is frequently named there, but in one of the Middle Irish treatises on versification,⁵⁹ which describes the procedure against a king who refuses the proper reward for a poem. First there was fasting on the land of the king, and a council of thirty laymen and thirty bishops and thirty poets as to making a satire; and it was a crime to prevent the satire after the reward for the poem was refused. Then the poet himself with six others, on whom the six degrees of poets had been conferred, had to go at sunrise to a hill-top on the boundary of seven lands; and the face of each degree of them toward his own land, and the face of the ollave there toward the land of the king whom he would satirize, and the backs of them all toward a hawthorn which should be on the top of the hill, and the wind from the north,

⁵⁶ Ancient Laws, 5. 12.

⁵⁷ See *Revue Celtique*, 16. 280; *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, p. 39; and Aislinge Meic Conglinne, ed. Kuno Meyer, pp. 44 ff.; all cited by Plummer, *Vitæ Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, 1. cii.-ciii.

⁵⁸ An example of satire against a tribe, which was apparently of the nature of invective or insult rather than of incantation, is cited from the *Leabhar Breac* in the *Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society*, 1. 179 ff.; see also O'Donovan's edition of O'Daly's *Tribes of Ireland* (Dublin, 1852), p. 17, n. The *Cinel Fiacha* of Westmeath are asserted to be of plebeian origin. In anger at the insult they murder the satirists.

⁵⁹ Translated by O'Curry, *Manners and Customs*, 2. 216 ff.; Atkinson, *Book of Ballymote* (Facsimile), p. 13a; and Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, 12. 119-120; and summarized and discussed by Thurneysen, *Mittelirische Verslehren*, pp. 124 ff. Thurneysen questions the antiquity of the tradition, at least as part of the *Verslehren*. But the substance of the passage does not look like a late invention.

and a slingstone and a thorn of the hawthorn in every man's hand, and each of them to sing a stave in a prescribed metre into the slingstone and the thorn, the ollave singing his stave before the others, and they afterwards singing their staves at once; and each was then to put his stone and his thorn at the butt of the hawthorn. And if it were they that were in the wrong, the earth of the hill would swallow them up. But if it were the king that was in the wrong, the earth would swallow up him and his wife and his son and his horse and his arms and his dress and his hound. The curse (*glám*) of the *Mac fuirmed*⁶⁰ fell on the hound; the curse of the *fochloc* on the dress; the curse of the *doss* on the arms; the curse of the *cano* on the wife; the curse of the *cli* on the son; the curse of the *anradh* on the land; the curse of the ollave on the king himself.⁶¹

Whether this elaborate ceremony was actually in common practice does not matter fundamentally to the present discussion. It may have been largely invented, or at least embellished, by some *file* with a turn for magical liturgy. Certainly the thirty bishops are suspicious participants; and references to the *glám dichenn* in Irish literature do not usually suggest such a complicated affair. The bishops, however, it is to be observed, do not actually have a part in the *glám dichenn*, but only in the preliminary council which sanctions the proceedings. There is plenty of evidence, moreover, as will appear later, that Irish poets did join in companies for making or pronouncing satires; and the characteristic features of the ceremony here described—the fasting, the sympathetic magic, and the assumed retroaction of the unjust curse—are all unassailable elements of popular practice or belief.

The passages cited from the Brehon laws, or used in explanation of them, seem to show pretty clearly the importance of poetic malediction and satire in the life of the ancient Irish; and the impression derived from the laws is borne out by frequent references in the heroic tales and historical documents. In texts of the strict Old Irish period—that

⁶⁰ This and the following terms refer to the various degrees of poets.

⁶¹ Stokes's translation (in *Revue Celtique*, 12. 119), somewhat condensed, is followed in the present account.

is, those preserved in Old Irish manuscripts—no actual accounts of satire have been noted by the writer, though some of the words regularly used for it already occur in documents of the time.⁶² In view of the fact that the Old Irish texts are chiefly glosses, the lack of such material is not surprising. But Cormac's Glossary, which is generally conceded, though the manuscripts of it are Middle Irish, to be a work of the ninth or tenth century, and which is therefore one of the earliest documents preserving any considerable quantity of native Irish tradition, contains a score or more of references to the custom. Several words are there explained as having to do with the satirist or his work. *Leos* is defined as "a blush wherewith a person is reddened after a satire or reproach of him"; and one meaning of *ferb* is said to be "a blotch which is put on the face of a man after a satire or false judgment."⁶³ A similar conception of the physical effect of satire (which will be discussed again later) appears in the definition of *rinntaid*, "*nomen* for a man of satire, who wounds or cuts each face." Both *groma* and *glam* are defined, and the latter explained as coming *ab eo quod est clamor*. The etymology, like that proposed for *cainte*, satirist, — "*i.e. canis*, a dog, for the satirist has a dog's head in barking, and alike is the profession they follow" — has no value in the eyes of modern science, but such comments are of some incidental interest. And this is particularly true of the etymology proposed for *file*, poet, "from poison (*fi*) in satire and splendour (*li*) in praise." The derivation is again impossible, but in associating the word for poet with the 'poison of satire' Cormac anticipates, on the semasiological side, the modern theories, already mentioned, with regard to the Germanic words 'scop' and 'scoff.'⁶⁴

More interesting, however, than any of these definitions⁶⁵ are four actual pieces of old satirical verse which Cormac has preserved among his citations. Under *riss*, 'story,' a line

⁶² See particularly Ascoli's *Glossarium Palaeohibernicum* under *air* and its compounds.

⁶³ There is a similar explanation in the *Amra Choluimb Chille*. See p. 114, below.

⁶⁴ See p. 102, above.

⁶⁵ For other references to the subject in Cormac, not mentioned above, see the articles on *aithrinne*, *doeduinne*, *dul*, and *trephocal*.

is quoted and declared to come from the poem of Coirpre mac Etaine against Bres mac Elathain, the first satire which was made in Ireland. Under *cernine*, 'dish,' another line from the same poem is cited; but Cormac nowhere gives the rest of the satire. In the saga of the Second Battle of Moytura,⁶⁶ however, the whole story is told to which allusion is made in the passages cited. According to this account, Coirpre, the poet of the Tuatha Dé Danann, once came a-guesting to the house of Bres. "He entered a cabin narrow, black, dark, wherein there was neither fire nor furniture nor bed. Three small cakes, and they dry, were brought to him on a little dish. On the morrow he arose, and he was not thankful. As he went across the garth, he said:

Without food quickly on a dish;
 Without a cow's milk whereon a calf grows;
 Without a man's abode under the gloom (?) of night;⁶⁷
 Without paying a company of story-tellers — let that be Bres's condition."

As a result of the verse it is said that nought save decay was on Bres from that hour.

Under the word *Munnu*, interpreted as *Mo Fhinnu*, a pet name, the following quatrain is quoted and said to come from the satire of Maedoc Ferna against Munnu, the son of Tulchan:

O little vassal of mighty God!
 O son of Tulchan, O Shepherd!
 She bore a troublesome child to a family,
 The mother that bore thee, Fintan!

Other evidence concerning this satire has apparently not been preserved; in fact some very similar lines are quoted in the commentary on the Martyrology of Oengus and attributed to Columbcille.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ See Stokes's edition and translation, *Revue Celtique*, 12. 71. The quatrain is also given in some manuscripts of the *Amra Choluimb Chille*; cf. O'Beirne Crowe's edition, p. 26 (from the *Lebor na h-Uidhre*), and Stokes's edition (from Ms. Rawl. B. 502) in *Revue Celtique*, 20. 158. The story is told separately in *Yellow Book of Lecan*, p. 137b, and also (apparently) in *Trinity College Ms. H. 3*, 17. See the *Catalogue of Mss. in Trinity College, Dublin*, p. 352.

⁶⁷ The readings of this line differ in the manuscripts, and the translation is uncertain.

⁶⁸ See the notes to the *Martyrology*, under Oct. 21 (Stokes's edition for the *Henry Bradshaw Society*, p. 226).

A third quatrain, which also appears, as Stokes points out, to be of satirical character, is quoted under the word *rer*, 'blackbird.'

Hard to thee ⁶⁹ the little stripling,
 Son of the little blackbird !
 Have thou every good thing ready before him,
 O little head (that is, O head of a little goose) !

The son of the little blackbird is doubtless the poet Flann Mac Lonain, whom the Four Masters call "the Virgil of the race of the Scots"; and the person addressed is Finngine, King of Cashel, known as Cenn-gegain, 'head of a little goose.' The lines contain little more than word-play on the diminutive formations in the names, and the circumstances referred to are unknown.⁷⁰

A typical story of satire, as it was employed among the Irish, is attached to a fourth stanza, quoted by Cormac under the word *gaire*, 'shortness (of life).' The lines are said to have been uttered by Nede, the son of Adnae, against Caier, his uncle, the king of Connaught, and the whole episode is narrated in the version of Cormac's Glossary in the Yellow Book of Lecan.⁷¹ "Caier," as the tale goes, "had adopted Nede as his son, because he had no son at all. The mind of Caier's wife clave unto Nede. She gave an apple of silver unto Nede for his love. Nede consented not, and she promised him half the realm after Caier, if he would go in unto her. 'How shall this happen to us?' said Nede. 'Not difficult,' said the woman, 'make thou a satire on him, so that a blemish come upon him. Then the man with the blemish shall be no longer king.' 'Not easy to me is this thing; the man will not make refusal to me. There is nothing in the world in his possession that he will not give me.'

⁶⁹ This is Stokes's rendering of *uindsí chugat*; perhaps it should rather be translated 'here comes to thee.'

⁷⁰ On Flann mac Lonain see O'Reilly, *Irish Writers*, pp. lviii. ff.; O'Curry *Manners and Customs*, 2. 98-104; Todd's edition of the *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh* (Rolls Series), p. x.; Hennessy's edition of *Chronicon Scotorum* (Rolls Series), p. 175.

⁷¹ See Stokes's *Three Irish Glossaries*, pp. xxxvi. ff. Stokes's translation, slightly condensed by the omission of doubtful words and of glossarial passages, is here followed. Part of Nede's satirical stanza is quoted at the end of the account of the *aldm díchenn* in the metrical treatise already referred to. See pp. 108, above, and Thurneysen, *Mittelirische Verslehren*, p. 125.

'I know,' said the woman, 'a thing that he will not give thee, namely, the dagger that was brought him from the lands of Alba he will not give thee; he is forbidden to part with it.' Nede asked Caier for the dagger. 'Woe is me,' said Caier, 'I am forbidden to part with it.' Nede made a *glám dichenn* upon him, and three blisters came forth on his cheeks. This is the satire:

Evil, death, short life to Caier!
 Let spears of battle wound him, Caier!
 Caier . . . ! Caier . . . ! Caier under earth,
 Under ramparts, under stones be Caier! ⁷²

Caier arose next morning early (and went) to the well. He put his hand over his countenance. He found on his face three blisters which the satire had caused, namely, Stain, Blemish, and Defect, to wit, red, and green, and white. Caier fled thence that none might see the disgrace, until he was in Dún Cermnai with Cacher, son of Eitirscél. Nede took the realm of Connaught after him. He was there till the end of a year. Grievous unto him was Caier's torment. Nede went after him to Dún Cermnai, seated in Caier's chariot, and Caier's wife and his greyhound were with him. Fair was the chariot that went to the fort! His face told how it was with him. 'Whose is that color?' said every one. Said Caier: 'Twas we that rode on his high seat by the seat of the charioteer.' 'That is a king's word,' said Cacher, son of Eitirscél. (Caier was not known to him up to that time.) 'No, truly, I am not,' said Caier. With that Caier fled (?) from them out of the house, till he was on the flagstone behind the fort. Nede went in his chariot into the fort. The dogs pursued Caier's track until they found him under the flagstone behind the fort. Caier died for shame on seeing Nede. The rock flamed at Caier's death, and a fragment of the rock flew up under Nede's eye, and pierced into his head." The exact manner of Nede's punishment is differently described in a stanza on the justice of his fate, with which the account ends:

A stone that happened to be under Caier's foot
 Sprang up the height of a sail-tree,

⁷² Several words in the quatrain are of uncertain meaning.

Fell — not unjust was the decree —
On the head of the poet from above.

A number of elements in this story are of interest to the student of early institutions and beliefs: the symbolical use, for example, of the apple of silver,⁷³ or the peculiar prohibition (Irish *geis*, a kind of taboo) which forbade Caier to part with his dagger,⁷⁴ or the provision that a king with a bodily blemish must abdicate his throne.⁷⁵ But attention must here be called rather to what concerns the satire itself — to the poet's effort to find an excuse for his attack, to his final punishment for unjust satire, in spite of his ruse, and to the detailed account of the blemishing effect of his maledictory verse. The pimples, blushes, or other kinds of disfigurement produced by satire have been several times referred to in passages previously cited. Here in the story of Caier three blotches, red, green, and white, are definitely mentioned, and called Stain, Blemish, and Defect. The allegorical interpretation may be relatively late, though such treatment of abstract qualities is by no means without parallel in early Irish literature. But the general conception of facial disfigurement as the result of magic persecution or even as a punishment for some form of misbehavior is very widespread. Among the Irish the affliction was visited not only on the victim of an incantation, as in the case of Caier, but sometimes on the poet himself,⁷⁶ if his satire was unjust, and also on a judge who rendered an unjust verdict.⁷⁷ Somewhat similar is the case of Bricriu, mentioned in the *Scéla Conchobair maic Nessa*, who had a

⁷³ Compare the gifts of Finnabair to Ferdiad, *Táin Bó Cúalnge*, L. W. Farraday's translation (London, 1904), p. 100. See also Gaidoz, *La Réquisition d'Amour et le Symbolisme de la Pomme* (*Annuaire de l'École des Hautes Études*, 1902), with reviewer's remarks in *Revue Archéologique*, 1902, 1. 134; Lot, in *Romania*, 27. 560, n.; Foster, on the Symbolism of Apples in Classical Antiquity, in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 10. 43 ff.; and Leite de Vasconcellos, in *Revista Lusitana*, 7. 126 ff.

⁷⁴ For illustrations of the *geis*, from early Irish sagas, see an article by Miss Eleanor Hull, in *Folklore*, 12. 40 ff.

⁷⁵ For this requirement that the king shall be free from all deformities or blemishes see *Ancient Laws*, 1. 73; 2. 279; 3. 85. Compare also the story of Nuada of the Silver Hand, discussed by Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 120.

⁷⁶ See *Revue Celtique*, 20. 422, and *Liber Hymnorum*, ed. Atkinson, p. 173.

⁷⁷ See *Ancient Laws*, 4. 16; also *Revue Celtique*, 24. 279.

boil rise from his forehead whenever he tried to withhold a secret.⁷⁸ And many readers will recall, what is at bottom the same idea, the Greek belief, mentioned by Bacon in his essay 'Of Praise,' that "he that was praised to his hurt should have a push rise upon his nose; as we say that a blister will rise upon one's tongue that tells a lie."⁷⁹ That there is a physiological basis for all such notions no one, in these days of psychotherapy, will be disposed to deny.⁸⁰

Of the four satirical pieces that have been quoted from the Glossary of Cormac, two, it is to be noted, are really incantations, and two are rather mocking than maledictory in tone. Thus the examples of satire in an early document show the same confusion of different types that was observed in the references to the subject in the laws. And this close association of incantational verse with other forms of poetry will frequently appear in the accounts of satirists to be cited from Irish sagas.

In the further illustration of the subject from these sources no attempt will be made to follow a strict chronological order of events. Some of the saga material to be used is doubtless older, at least in substance, than Cormac's Glossary, and the examples taken from that work have fully established the existence of satire, in the senses under discussion, in the Old Irish period. The practice of it has survived among the Gaels, as will be shown later,⁸¹ down to the present time. Beyond these general statements of chronology it is not necessary to go. And there is, in fact, no reason for insisting on the antiquity of the evidences with regard to this custom, since nobody will contend (as is often contended with regard to the much-debated elements of Celtic and Arthurian romance) that the Irish borrowed it from other peoples of mediæval Europe.

It is noteworthy, as has already been remarked, that

⁷⁸ See Ériu, 4. 21, 32.

⁷⁹ Cf. Theocritus, Idylls, ix. 30; xii. 24. The Greek idea was apparently rather that the flatterer himself had the push rise upon him. For further illustration of the Irish belief, see D. Fitzgerald in the *Revue Celtique*, 6. 195 (citing a South African parallel).

⁸⁰ Both Rhys (Hibbert Lectures, pp. 324 ff.) and Zimmer (*Keltische Literaturen*, in *Kultur der Gegenwart*, pp. 50-51) have discussed the physiological side of the question.

⁸¹ See p. 127, below.

tales of destructive satire are associated with some of the most conspicuous poets in Irish history and saga. The man who was perhaps most famous for the exercise of this dangerous power was Aithirne the Importunate, who was so representative a satirist that in the metaphorical language of poetry *sciath Aithirni*, 'the shield of Aithirne,' became a 'kenning' for satire.⁸² His ruthless exactions, from which he derived his sobriquet, are described in the saga of the Siege of Howth,⁸³ where he is declared to have been "a hard, merciless man," "a man who asked the one-eyed for his single eye, and who used to demand the woman in child-bed." So much was he feared that when, in the course of his bardic circuit, he approached the borders of Leinster, the people came forth to meet him and offered him jewels and treasures not to come into their country, so that he might not leave invectives. And any man would give his wife to Aithirne, or the single eye out of his head, or whatever Aithirne might desire of jewels and treasures. As the result of an enforced contribution of women and cattle, levied by him on the men of Leinster, came about the siege of Howth and a war between Leinster and Ulster.⁸⁴

That Aithirne sometimes met his match appears from a short story in the Book of Leinster, which describes his defeat at the hands of another poet.⁸⁵ Because of his niggardliness, it is declared, Aithirne never ate his full meal in a place where any one could see him. He proceeded, therefore, on one occasion to take with him a cooked pig and a pot of mead, in order that he might eat his fill all alone. And he set in order before him the pig and the pot of mead when he beheld a man coming towards him. "Thou wouldst do it all alone," said the stranger, whilst he took the pig and the pot away from him. "What is thy name?" said Aithirne. "Nothing very grand," said he:

*"Sethor, ethor, othor, sele, dele, dreng, gerce,
Son of Gerluscc, sharp sharp, right right, that is my name."*

⁸² See *Revue Celtique*, 26. 24.

⁸³ Edited and translated by Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, 8. 47 ff. See also O'Curry's *Manuscript Materials*, pp. 266 ff.

⁸⁴ Rhys (*Hibbert Lectures*, p. 325) observes in Aithirne's defence that the disparaging account of him comes from the Book of Leinster, and that the Leinstermen were his hereditary foes.

⁸⁵ Quoted and discussed by Rhys, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 332.

Aithirne neither got the pig, nor was able to make rhyme to the satire. It is evident that it was one come from God to take away the pig; for Aithirne was not stingy from that hour forth.

The use of the ordinary Irish word for satire (*aer*) here, where no personal attack or invective is involved, shows the range of its employment. The lines of the strange visitor are of course to be regarded as a spell, and the contest to which Aithirne is invited is really a contest in magic power. In fact, many of the stories of verse-capping, with which popular literature abounds,⁸⁶ are something more than tests of poetical skill, and the whole literary type known as the debate, or *Streitgedicht*, owes more than is commonly recognized to the ancient practice of competition between rival magician-poets. But that matter must be left for investigation and discussion at another time.

To return to Aithirne, the usual result of refusing his requests is seen in the saga of Aithirne and Luaine, which belongs to the cycle of King Conchobar of Ulster.⁸⁷ After the death of Deirdriu, it is related, Conchobar was in great sorrow, and no joy or beauty could appease his spirit. The chief men of Ulster urged him to search the provinces of Erin, if perchance he might find therein the daughter of a king or a noble, who would drive away his grief for Deirdriu, and to this he assented. After a long search his messengers found Luaine, the daughter of Domanchenn, the one maiden in Ireland who had upon her the ways of Deirdriu in shape and sense and handicraft; and when Conchobar beheld her there was no bone in him the size of an inch that was not filled with long-lasting love for the girl. She was betrothed to him, and her bride-price was bound upon him. When Aithirne the Importunate and his two sons heard of the plighting of the maiden to Conchobar, they went to beg boons of her. At sight of her they gave love to her, and besought her to play the king false. On her refusal they

⁸⁶ General references on the subject of verse-capping are hardly necessary here. For some discussion and illustrations, see Gummere, *The Beginnings of Poetry*, pp. 400 ff. Early Irish instances (with parallels from other literatures) are noted by Stokes in the translation of Cormac's Glossary (*Ir. Arch. Society*), p. 138; see also *Irische Texte*, 4. 92 ff., 303.

⁸⁷ Edited and translated by Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, 24. 272 ff.

made three satires upon her, which left three blotches on her cheeks, namely Stain and Blemish and Disgrace, which were black and red and white. And thereupon the maiden died of shame. When Conchobar learned of her death, great silence fell upon him, and his grief was second only to his grief for Deirdriu. He took counsel with the Ulstermen concerning the punishment of Aithirne and his sons. Luaine's father and mother urged revenge, but Cathbad, the Druid, gave warning that Aithirne would send beasts of prey against them, namely Satire and Disgrace and Shame and Curse and Fire (?) and Bitter Word. In the end they decided upon Aithirne's destruction; and after the funeral rites had been celebrated for Luaine, the Ulstermen followed Aithirne to Benn Aithirni, and walled him in with his sons and all his household, and killed Mor and Midseng, his two daughters, and burnt his fortress upon him. But the doing of that deed, it is said, seemed evil to the poets of Ulster. Although the magician in Aithirne so much outweighs the poet, yet the bards took up his cause, and Amaigen, the chief poet, Aithirne's fosterling and pupil, made a lamentation upon him.

Aithirne and the kings with whom he is associated belong distinctly to the field of saga, but similar tales are told of poets who lived within the historical period or in relation with historical persons. Dallan Forgail, of the sixth century, the traditional author of the *Amra Choluimb Chille*, is said to have composed both songs of praise and satirical verses upon Aed mac Duach in an effort to obtain from him, by fair means or foul, his famous shield, the *Dubh-Ghilla*.⁸⁸ And the death of Niall of the Nine Hostages, one of the chief leaders of the marauding Scots at the beginning of the fifth century, was directly due, according to one account,⁸⁹ to strife engendered by a satirist. Echu, the son of Enna Censelach, the tale relates, when on his way from the house of Niall to his own people in Leinster, sought food at the house of Laidchenn, Niall's poet. Laidchenn refused

⁸⁸ See the *Imtheacht na Tromdhaimhe*, ed. Connellan (1860), pp. 12 ff.

⁸⁹ See the story of Niall's death, from *Ms. Rawl. B. 502*, edited and translated by K. Meyer, *Otia Merciana*, 2. 84 ff. Cf. O'Curry, *Manners and Customs*, 2. 70 ff.

Echu hospitality, and Echu revenged himself later by destroying the poet's house and killing his son. Thereupon for a whole year Laidchenn kept satirizing and lampooning and cursing the men of Leinster, so that neither grass nor corn grew with them, nor a leaf, to the end of a year. Niall also went to Leinster, and forced the people to give him Echu in bonds as a hostage; but Echu broke his chains, and slew nine champions who came up to kill him, and rejoined his people. A second time Niall demanded that the Leinstermen give up Echu, and when this was done, Laidchenn began to revile Echu and the Leinstermen, so that they melted away before him. But Echu let fly a champion's stone, which he had in his belt, and it hit Laidchenn in the crown of his forehead and lodged in his skull. Echu was exiled from Ireland, but this did not put an end to the feud, and afterward, in Alba, Niall himself fell by an arrow from Echu's hand. While the satires of Laidchenn are plainly of the nature of spells, it is clear that he was regarded in Irish tradition as a real poet, and not a mere pronouncer of charms. Poems on the history of the kings of Leinster, ascribed to him, though not to be taken as authentic, will be found in the Rawlinson Manuscript B 502.⁹⁰

With the satires of Laidchenn, which blighted the whole face of Leinster, may be compared the spells attributed to Ferchertne, another great poet of the heroic age, before whom, according to a passage in the *Táin Bó Cúalnge* (The Cattle-Spoil of Cooley), the lakes and streams sank when he blamed them and rose when he praised them.⁹¹ They bring to mind also the threat of Forgoll, the poet, in the *Voyage of Bran*, when upon occasion of a disagreement with Mongan, he declared that he would satirize Mongan and his father and his mother and his grandfather; singing spells upon their waters so that no fish should be caught in their river-mouths, and on their woods so that they should bear no fruit, and on their plains so that they should be barren of produce.⁹²

⁹⁰ See the collotype facsimile, edited by Kuno Meyer, introduction, p. ix., and text, pp. 116 ff.

⁹¹ *Táin Bó Cúalnge*, ed. Windisch (Irische Texte, Extraband), p. 789.

⁹² The *Voyage of Bran*, Meyer and Nutt, 1. 49.

Enough has been said to show the association of satire and malediction with Irish poets of high station. The frequency of the practice in the life of the people is further indicated by many passages in the sagas. In the great central tale of the Ulster cycle, the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*, for example, satirists appear in several important episodes. The account of Ferchertne and his spells has just been referred to. Redg, another satirist, is employed against Cuchulainn when the latter is holding at bay all the army of Connaught. He is sent to ask Cuchulainn for his spear; and upon Cuchulainn's refusal he threatens to take away his honor. Then Cuchulainn lets him have the spear in the back of his head, and kills him.⁹³ Again, when Ferdiad, the companion of Cuchulainn's youth, refuses to take part against him, Medb sends the druids and the satirists and the hard-attackers to him, that they may make three satires to hold him, and three imprecations (*glamma dicend*), that they may raise the three blotches on his face, Shame and Blemish and Disgrace, so that if he does not die at once he may die before the end of nine days, if he will not go into the fight. And Ferdiad yields, preferring to fall before the spears of bravery and warfare and prowess rather than before the spears of satire and insult and abuse.⁹⁴ On another occasion two female satirists from the camp of Connaught stand over Cuchulainn and weep in hypocrisy, predicting the ruin of Ulster.⁹⁵ And again, the Morrigan herself, the battle-goddess, appears to Cuchulainn in a similar guise.⁹⁶ In the text of the *Táin Bó Cúalnge* she is not called a satirist, but she applies the name to herself in the *Táin Bó Regamna*, where she plays the same part.⁹⁷

A few more illustrations of destructive satires may be cited from the great collection of early Irish topographical legends which is known as the *Dindsenchas*.⁹⁸ In the ac-

⁹³ See the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*, Windisch's edition, p. 273. And compare a similar episode in the *Aided Conchulainn*, *Revue Celtique*, 3. 78 ff.

⁹⁴ *Táin Bó Cúalnge*, Windisch's edition, p. 441.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 829.

⁹⁶ See the *Táin Bó Cúalnge*, *Lebor na h-Uidre* version, Miss Farraday's translation (Grimm Library), p. 74.

⁹⁷ See the *Irische Texte*, ed. Windisch and Stokes, vol. 2, part ii. p. 258.

⁹⁸ References are made here to Stokes's edition and translation of the prose portion of the *Dindsenchas* from the Rennes Ms., *Revue Celtique*, vols. 15 and 16.

count of Mullaghmast,⁹⁹ Maistiu, by whose name that of the place is explained, is said to have refused certain demands of Gris, the female rhymester, who so maltreated her with blemishing satires that she died thereof before her. The Dindsenchas of Dublin¹⁰⁰ affords another instance of death from the verse of a poetess, but in this case the poem is described as a sea-spell. Dub, the wife of Enna, discovered that her husband had another wife, Aide, the daughter of Ochenn. In jealousy, then, Dub chanted a sea-spell before Ochenn's house, so that Aide was drowned with all her family.¹⁰¹ In still another case, in the Dindsenchas of Fafaind,¹⁰² the result of the satirist's verses is not death but disfigurement, as has been noted several times before. Aige, the sister of Fafne, the poet, was transformed into a fawn by her enemies, and then slain by the king's men. Thereupon Fafne went to blemish the king, and raised the customary three blotches upon him. In punishment for this Fafne was arrested and put to death.

It is apparent from a number of passages cited, and particularly from the description of the *glám dichenn*,¹⁰³ that satirists often plied their work in companies. A whole body of "druids and satirists and hard-attackers" were sent by Mebd to force Ferdiad into battle.¹⁰⁴ Kings had bands of satirists in their employ,¹⁰⁵ and poets are sometimes grouped with other forces to be counted upon in war.¹⁰⁶ In the tale

An edition of the metrical Dindsenchas has been begun by E. Gwynn in the Todd Lecture Series of the Royal Irish Academy (vols. 7 and 8).

⁹⁹ Revue Celtique, 15. 334 ff.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* p. 326.

¹⁰¹ A somewhat similar tale of a jealous wife is told in the Latin Vita Coemgeni (Plummer's Vita Sanctorum Hiberniae, 1. 250 ff.). Colman, the son of Carbre, finding his first wife incompatible, put her away and took another. But the rejected woman was powerful in *magicis artibus*, and sang spells which destroyed all the children of her successor. At last one of them (Faclan) was saved by a miracle of St. Coemgen. The way in which different magic arts were combined in these dangerous women of poetry is shown again by the tale of Dreco (Druidess and female poet), who prepared a poisonous liquor which killed the twenty-four sons of Fergus Redside. See the Dindsenchas of Nemthenn, Revue Celtique, 16. 34.

¹⁰² Revue Celtique, 15. 306; and compare Gwynn's Metrical Dindsenchas, 2. 66 ff.

¹⁰³ See pp. 108 ff., above.

¹⁰⁴ See p. 120, above.

¹⁰⁵ Compare Revue Celtique, 22. 294.

¹⁰⁶ At this point Arabic literature again furnishes interesting parallels. Cf. Goldsieber's remarks on the use of the Hija' as an 'Element des Kriegeres' (Abhandlungen zur Arabischen Philologie, p. 36).

of the Second Battle of Moytura, for example, when the leaders of all the crafts are asked in turn what help they can give against the Fomorian enemies, the *file* promises, on behalf of his fellow-poets, to make a *glám dichenn* which will satirize them and shame them and take away their resistance.¹⁰⁷ And in the Dindsenchas of Carman, hostile enchanters appear in open opposition.¹⁰⁸ Carman and her sons, according to the story, came from Athens, and she ruined the land with spells and songs and incantations while the sons destroyed by plundering and dishonesty. But the Tuatha Dé Danann sent Ai of their poets and Cridenbél of their satirists and Lugh Laebach of their druids and Bé Cuille of their witches to sing upon them, and the men were driven out, and Carman held as a prisoner behind them. The joint action of enchanters seems also to be referred to in the Dindsenchas of Laigen, which says that the druids of Ireland nearly exterminated by their songs the tribe of the Gaileoin.¹⁰⁹

In the light of so many accounts of maledictive work of poets it will not appear strange that Cormac thought the 'poison of satire' to be one element in the composite of *file*, or that Ferchertne and Nede, in a highly technical 'Colloquy' on the poets' profession, several times refer to satire among its characteristic features.¹¹⁰ Nor is it to be wondered at that the poets as a class came to be greatly feared. In some verses ascribed to St. Columba it is written, "Blessed is he who is praised; woe to him who is satirized!" And again, "Woe to the land that is satirized!"¹¹¹ And Ferchertne, in an interesting and typically Irish elaboration of the familiar list of signs before judgment, predicts, among other calamities, that "every man will buy a lampooner to lampoon on his behalf."¹¹² It was a general belief, sometimes explained by reference to the sacredness of the poet's person, that no request of his should ever be denied, and there was undoubtedly a strong feeling that poets were entitled to be rewarded for their work. But the real motive

¹⁰⁷ Revue Celtique, 12. 91.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. 15. 311.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. 15. 299.

¹¹⁰ The Colloquy of the Two Sages (Agallam in da Suaradh), edited and translated by Stokes, Revue Celtique, 26. 23 ff.

¹¹¹ Revue Celtique, 20. 44.

¹¹² See the Colloquy, Revue Celtique, 26. 40.

for yielding to their exactions seems often to have been the fear of their attacks, whether in maledictive verse or in some other form of magic persecution. And that they had other means than the poetic of enforcing their demands is suggested by Cormac's description of the *briamon smetrach*,¹¹² an operation which they performed on a man who refused them aught. They ground his ear-lobe between their fingers until he died. The supernatural power of the poets was even conceived as lasting beyond their own lives; and it is related of Cuan O'Lothchain, a famous poet who was murdered in 1024, that his murderers became putrid in a single hour. "That," the annalist says, "was the miracle of a poet!"¹¹⁴

As a result of the terror they inspired, the poets commonly got what they asked for, even from the boldest of saga heroes. Thus Cridenbél the satirist regularly obtained on demand the best bits of the Dagda's supper, though the Dagda's health was the worse for it; and it was only by a trick that the importunate sorcerer was disposed of.¹¹⁵ So also Lugaid the king, when solicited by Ban-bretnach, the woman-satirist of the Britons, complied with her demand and lay with her, and became the father of Conall Corc;¹¹⁶ and it is related of a certain MacSweeney that, when unable to remove a ring which a poet had asked for, he hacked off finger and all rather than not grant the request.¹¹⁷ Of Leborcham, the nurse of Deirdriu, it is said that she was a woman-satirist and no one dared refuse her aught;¹¹⁸ and of MacConglinne, who was great at both eulogy and satire, that he was called *Anéra* (the negative of *era*, 'denial') because there was no denial of his requests.¹¹⁹

Even the Christian saints, it would appear, were not exempted from such demands or by any means superior to the fear of them. For when St. Columba was cutting wood for the church of Doire, certain poets came to him to seek a boon. He told them he had no gift for them there, but that if they would come home with him they should re-

¹¹² See Cormac's Glossary, under *bri*; also *Revue Celtique*, 26. 55.

¹¹⁴ See *Annals of Ulster*, ed. B. MacCarthy (Rolls Series), under the year 1024.

¹¹⁵ See the Second Battle of Moytura, *Revue Celtique*, 12. 65.

¹¹⁶ See the *Coir Anmann*, under Conall Corc (*Irische Texte*, 3. 310).

¹¹⁷ See the Publications of the Ossianic Society, 3. 297.

¹¹⁸ *Irische Texte*, 1. 71.

¹¹⁹ *Aislinge Meic Conglinne*, ed. Kuno Meyer, p. 43.

ceive one. They replied that if he did not give the gift then and there they would satirize him; and Columba was seized with such shame at this threat that smoke rose from his forehead and he sweated exceedingly. He put up his hand to wipe away the sweat, and it became a talent of gold in his palm, and he gave the talent to the poets. "Thus," the narrator concludes, "did God save the honor of Columbcille."¹²⁰ In a story of similar purport the honor of St. Patrick is saved by the miraculous provision of food for a company of minstrels or jugglers; but in this instance the petitioners, after receiving their boon, are swallowed up by the earth in punishment for their insolence.¹²¹ Vengeance of like character is visited on three poets who threaten to defame St. Laisren;¹²² and, in general, when the satirists confront the saints, their sorcery is forced to succumb to a higher power.

The community as a whole also sometimes found means, according to the historians, of resisting the demands of the poets, and Geoffrey Keating reports traditions of at least three banishments of the order.¹²³ On the first occasion, in the time of King Conchobar of Ulster, when the poets were about to set out for Alba, they were taken under protection by Cuchulainn and retained by him for seven years. On their second banishment they were retained by Fiachna mac Baedan, and on their third by Maelcobha mac Deamain, both also kings of Ulster. A fourth attempt to expel them from the country was made by King Aed mac Ainmiri at the celebrated assembly of Drumceat. But St. Columba intervened on the poets' behalf and arranged that they should be allowed to remain, though with their numbers reduced. His action, Keating observes, is commemorated in the stanza:

The poets were saved by this means,
Through Colum of the fair law;

¹²⁰ See O'Donnell's *Life of Columbcille*, edited by R. Henebry, *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, 4. 296-298. The same life says later (*ibid.* 5. 42) that Columbcille was weakly indulgent in rewarding poets and rhymers.

¹²¹ Compare Stokes, the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, pp. lx., 204.

¹²² See De Smedt and Backer, *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ* (1888), col. 796. Other instances of relations between the satirists and the saints are noted by Plummer, *Vitæ Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, 1. ciii.

¹²³ See Keating's *Forus Feasa air Eirinn*, Irish Text Society edition, 3. 78 ff.

A poet for each district is no heavy charge,—
That is what Colum ordained.

The same abuses of the poets which stirred up hostile legislation called forth much unfavorable comment in Irish literature, and in one case they produced a counterblast which ranks among the best pieces of humorous writing in Middle Irish. This is the *Imtheacht na Tromdháimhe* (Proceedings of the Great Bardic Institution), which has been several times referred to.¹²⁴ The account of Senchan and the mice, already quoted from it, shows the spirit of extravagant burlesque which pervades the whole, and which can hardly be reproduced in a condensed summary of the story. The chief episodes are as follows: The bards, under Senchan, their newly elected chief, decided to make a professional visit to Guaire, the king of Connaught, who had never been satirized for lack of hospitality; and out of special consideration for him they took with them only thrice fifty poets, thrice fifty students, thrice fifty hounds, thrice fifty kinswomen, and thrice nine of each class of artificers. Guaire greeted them all cordially, only regretting that he could not give a personal welcome to each member of the large company; and they were quartered in a great mansion and told to ask for whatever they might desire. "It was, however, a great difficulty to procure all things for them; for it was requisite to give to each of them his meals apart and a separate bed; and they went to bed not any night without wanting something, and they arose not a day without some of them having longing desires for some things that were extraordinary, wonderful, and rare, and difficult of procurement. It was a task for all the men of Ireland to find that which was longed for, and unless the person who desired it obtained it within twenty-four hours, it was useless ever after to procure it for him." Muireann, the wife of Dallan Forgail, on the very first night moaned aloud and declared that she should die unless she could have "a bowl of the ale of sweet milk, with the marrow of the ankle-bone of a wild hog; a pet cuckoo on an ivy tree between the two Christmases; her full load on her back, with a girdle of

¹²⁴ See p. 96, above.

yellow lard of an exceeding white boar about her; and to be mounted on a steed with a brown mane, and its four legs exceedingly white; a garment of the spider's web around her, and she humming a tune as she proceeded to Durlus." Another woman of the company desired a skirt full of blackberries in January, and also that Guaire's people might all be stricken down with disease. For the fulfillment of these and other equally preposterous demands Guaire sought the aid of Marban, his brother, the holy hermit; and by miracles of heaven the king's honor was saved, like that of the saints in the stories previously related.

When all the desires of the company had been fulfilled, they sat down to a great feast. Senchan, however, took whimsical offence at the hearty eating of the servants, and refused all food. Guaire in distress sent a favourite steward to prepare a wild goose and serve it to Senchan with special care. But Senchan refused it because the young man's grandfather was chip-nailed. And when a favourite damsel of Guaire's household was sent, Senchan would not take food from her hands because her grandmother had once pointed out the road to lepers. At last, after several days' abstinence, Senchan consented to eat a hen's egg, but the mice got at it, with results that have already been described. When Senchan was saved by St. Kieran from the clutches of Irusan, the great cat, he complained at his release, for he would rather by his death have given occasion for the satirizing of Guaire.

Marban, in the meantime, though a saintly hermit, had lost all patience with the unreasonable demands of the poets, and determined to obtain some redress. Accordingly he made his way to their mansion, declared that he was connected with poetry through the grandmother of his servant's wife, who was descended from poets, and claimed his choice of music from the company. Then he demanded the performance of a *cronán* (a low humming tune) till he should declare that he had enough. He would not be satisfied with the ordinary *cronán*, but insisted on the bass or guttural *cronán*, in the hope that they would break their heads, feet, and necks, and that their breathing would be the sooner exhausted. One company of singers after another was worn

out by the performance. Efforts were made to put off Marban with riddle contests, but he always defeated his antagonists in questions, and then reverted to his first demand—"Perform as much *cronán* as we desire." At last, when no one else could respond, Senchan himself had to perform, and he made such exertions at the guttural *cronán* that his eye burst out upon his cheek. Marban was satisfied with this revenge, and restored the eye to its place. Then he laid bonds upon the bards to obtain for him the saga of the Cattle-Spoil of Cooley; and the rest of the story is taken up with their adventures in discharge of the obligation.

In this way the Imtheacht na Tromdhaimhe is brought into connection with the old saga-cycle. But it is really a comparatively late work,¹²⁵ and in effect, as has already been said, a satire on the satirists. Satire in the loose or primitive sense furnished material for satire in the stricter definition of the word. It would not be fair to say that the one passed over into the other, and no such suggestion is here intended. The Imtheacht is cited rather as a significant piece of testimony to the extensive development of the old satire of malediction.

It would be easy to multiply references to satire from all branches of early Irish literature, but the passages which have been discussed illustrate the more important aspects of the subject. And it is beyond the compass of the present study to trace the history of satire through Irish literature of the modern period. Suffice it to say, of this later development, that although real satire, as opposed to incantational verse, increases as time goes on, the old conception of the destructive satirist, the poet with superior power, whom it is dangerous to displease, has never disappeared among the Gaels of either Ireland or Scotland.¹²⁶ But the

¹²⁵ The text is late Middle Irish. In some parts old material is made use of. Compare, for example, the story of the leper, in the latter part of the Imtheacht, with the similar narrative in Cormac's Glossary, under Prull.

¹²⁶ An extended study of modern Irish satire is greatly to be desired. Interesting illustrations both of real literary satire and of the incantational type are referred to in O'Donovan's introduction to O'Daly's *Satire on the Tribes of Ireland* (Dublin, 1864). The *Parliament Chloinne Thomáis*, edited by Stern in the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, 5. 541 ff., may also be mentioned as a representative sa-

village rhymester of to-day, though he may, like Chaucer's Somonour, have

In daunger . . . at his owene gyse
The yonge girles of the diocyse,

is far less important in power or influence than the magician-poet of saga times. He represents, so far as one can judge, the expiration of a tradition or custom which in mediæval Ireland was still vigorous and productive of results in literary development.

For the practices of the old Irish satirists have, in addition to their merely curious interest, a wider bearing on literary history. Attention has already been called¹²⁷ to their connection with the development of the 'flyting,' or verse debate, a matter which cannot further be treated at this time. And their obvious relation to the beginnings of ordinary satire also deserves more consideration than it has received from students of the subject.¹²⁸ One might hesitate just now, when fashion among critics and scholars is turning against *Liedertheorien* and doctrines of popular origin, to lay stress upon such a development. The folklorists and ballad collectors are charged, not unjustly, with many extravagances: with ill-judged enthusiasm for poor productions, just because they are popular; with wild speculation about popular composition; and with a kind of easy-going satisfaction in the collection of popular parallels as if they ex-

tirical document of much interest. For the survival of destructive or incantational satire there is plenty of evidence in the editions of the modern Irish poets. See, for example, in addition to the references already given on rat-rhyming (p. 96, above), Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy* (1831), 2. 358, n.; O'Daly's *Poets and Poetry of Munster* (Second Series, 1860), p. 218, n.; Dinneen's edition of Egan O'Rahilly (*Publication of the Irish Text Society*), pp. xxxi. ff.; Hyde's edition of Raftery, *Abhráin Atá Leagtha ar an Reachtuire* (1903), pp. 15 ff.; Lady Gregory, *Poets and Dreamers* (1903), pp. 8 ff.; and with special reference to Scotland, *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, 2. 28. Hyde points out that even the praise of the poets is feared, and it is believed that no man who has had a song made about him will live long.

¹²⁷ See p. 117, above.

¹²⁸ This relation, which has been clearly involved in most of the preceding discussion, has doubtlessly been observed by nearly all scholars who are familiar with Celtic literature, but due account has not been taken of it in general discussions of satire. That it has not escaped the keen vision of Professors Kittredge and Gummere, in their investigations of popular poetry, is apparent from a note in Gummere's *Old English Ballads* (1894), p. xxxiv.

plained the mature products of art. Nevertheless, in spite of its peccant humours, the study of folk literature has yielded solid results, and the "thrice-battered Grimm," as Mr. Gummere once called him, is not to be abjured as a Philistine god. Popular or communal composition, in some such reasonable sense as Mr. Gummere also has most fully defined and illustrated, must be recognized as a significant fact in the history of poetry. Popular material, in various forms of mythology and tradition, has entered into the highest products of art, and the understanding of it is often essential to the comprehension of Chaucer or Shakespeare or Goethe. In a word, the historian of poetry will never again be at liberty to disregard the popular basis of the poetry of art.

Now satire, which belongs conspicuously to the poetry of art, doubtless owes little, in its developed phases, to such simple products as the quatrains of Nede and Coirpre. Yet it is unquestionably a very old poetic form, originating in early stages of society and having definite relations with various kinds of popular verse. On one side a source has been found for it in the rude, rustic songs of mockery which exist among many peoples.¹²⁹ In another aspect its connection with gnomic writing is well recognized; and one scholar has gone so far, in discussing old Germanic poetry,¹³⁰ as to assume that people who possessed a gnomic literature must also have had satire. The close association of these two types could also be admirably illustrated from Irish literature, which furnishes, in such collections of proverbial morality as the ancient Instructions of Cormac, many passages of well-developed satire.¹³¹ But a still more intimate and essential relation seems to exist between satire and the kind of verse that has been described in this paper. And it is interesting to find that an observation by M. Brunetière, whom nobody

¹²⁹ Such, for example, as the Etruscan *fescennina*, and the Germanic *Schnaderhüpfel*. Compare Gummere, *Beginnings of Poetry*, pp. 400 ff.; Hirt, *Die Indogermanen*, 2. 728; and Erich Schmidt, *Anfänge der Literatur* (Kultur der Gegenwart), pp. 19 ff.

¹³⁰ Kögel, in Paul's *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie*, 2d ed., 2. 48.

¹³¹ The Instructions of King Cormac Mac Airt (*Tecosca Cormaic*) have been edited by Kuno Meyer in the Todd Lecture Series of the Royal Irish Academy, vol. 15 (Dublin, 1909).

will accuse of undue partiality for popular literature, points towards its recognition. He concludes an admirable survey of the general history of satire with the following definition: ¹²² "Opposer, en nous moquant d'eux, ou en les invectivant, — c'est affaire de tempérament, — notre manière de penser, de sentir, ou de voir à ceux qui ne voient, ni ne pensent, ni ne sentent comme nous, tel est, on l'a pu voir, le trait essentiel et commun qui relie les unes aux autres toutes les formes de la satire. Le poète Archiloque, ayant sur la fille de Lycambe des vues que Lycambe n'approuvait point, il les exprima d'une façon si virulente que Lycambe, et même sa fille, dit la légende, s'en pendirent. Voilà le fond de toute satire." The French critic, though chiefly concerned in his essay with the more elaborate and literary forms of satire, yet finds its essential nature to be personal invective. If his observation is sound, and it is certainly not unreasonable, the old Irish satirists were in the main line of development, though very far up the line; and the evidence with regard to them shows that the poetry of enchantment must also be included in the reckoning. For in the days of the magician-poet invective, mockery, and malediction are seen to have been almost inseparably bound together.

¹²² See *La Grande Encyclopédie*, under *Satire*.

ST. PETER AND THE MINSTREL

(FROM THE OLD FRENCH)

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THE *fabliau*¹ of which a nearly complete translation follows may serve to illustrate the materialistic crudity of some mediæval conceptions of the life to come as well as a familiarly irreverent tone equally natural under the circumstances.² Neither the idea that this or that class of men is excluded from hell³ nor the gambling for souls should be assumed to be confined to this minstrel's production and not elsewhere found.⁴ But they occur here combined in a story which is told in a not uninteresting way, and moreover the gambling scenes — gambling is at first treated in this *fabliau* as a vice — offer a special interest, partly because of such light as they throw on the old games with dice, partly because of the very difficulties of comprehension for the modern reader.⁵

The translation is intended to be a pretty close and line-

¹ In Montaiglon and Raynaud's *Recueil général et complet des fabliaux*, 5. 65-79.

² Cf. Bédier, *Les Fabliaux*, p. 317 (2d ed.).

³ For a different remark concerning minstrels in hell see Aucassin et Nicolette. 6. 25 ff. (ed. of Suchier), with the words (line 39), "et si i [into hell] vont harpeor et jogleor," etc.

⁴ See W. Hertz's notes on the translation of this *fabliau* into German in his *Spielmannsbuch*.

⁵ I have derived much help from the excellent study by Franz Semrau (*Würfel und Würfelspiel im alten Frankreich*, 23. Heft of the *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, Halle, 1910), whose explanations of the games and the passages concerned I have, for the most part, accepted. My notes on vv. 177, 183, 191, 202, 208, 212, 231, and probably 168, are all based on his work even where I am inclined to disagree with him (see my note on vv. 177, 208); and I have accepted his changes in punctuation or assignment of speeches in vv. 181, 308, 319, 322. He has printed with notes vv. 3-8, 27, 28, 134-251, 291-330, 353-355, 370-378; in all somewhat less than half of the whole.

for-line translation, in approximately the tone and the metre of the original. To do this and also to imitate the rhyme would have been impossible for me, and I have accordingly avoided rhyme altogether. That beside at least one rather coarse colloquialism I have occasionally used a word or a phrase which is not modern and colloquial may be harder to justify; but it can be pleaded in excuse that the original is some six centuries old, and that a translator may be allowed to let his rendering at least hint at such age now and then. The verses are numbered so as to correspond to those of the original. It will be seen that a few lines have been omitted; some of these can hardly have been in the *fabliau* as originally composed, and the others are unimportant.⁶

- 5 There was a minstrel once at Sens
 Who truly was of low estate;
 His costume was but seldom whole;
 I know not by what name he went;
 But oft he lost his all at dice;
 He often was without his fiddle,
 10 Barelegged and without a coat,
 So that against the chilly wind
 He often had nought but a shirt.
 Do not suppose I'm telling lies,
 He had not often shoes to wear. . . .
 22 The tavern was his chief resort,
 The brothel next he visited;
 Those places tempted him the most. . . .
 27 He loved dice and the tavern much,
 And all his earnings there he spent. . . .
 31 With a green chaplet on his head
 He would each day were holiday;
 He greatly longed for Sunday's coming,
 He ne'er liked noisy quarrelling,
 35 In foolish living still kept on.
 Now you shall hear what happened to him.
 In foolish sins he spent his time;
 When he had lived out all his life
 He had to die and pass beyond.
 40 A devil, who can never cease
 From tricking and attacking men,
 Came to the corpse to get the soul.

⁶ An earlier English translation is in Bruce-Whyte's *Histoire des langues romanes* (1841), 3. 122 ff. It is very free and contains in all only 167 lines, omitting much of the original.

45 A month he had been outside hell
And not one soul as yet had caught.
So when he saw this minstrel die
He ran at once to seize the soul ;
And since the minstrel died in sin
No opposition there he found.
50 Forthwith he took him on his back,
And ran with speed towards hell again.
His comrades roaming through the land
Had captured many a human soul ;
The one brings with him warriors' souls,
55 Another priests, still others thieves,
And monks, and abbots, bishops too,
And knights, and many sorts of men,
Who all had been in mortal sin,
And so were taken at the end.
60 These devils now return to hell
And meet their master Lucifer.
When he sees them thus laden come,
"My faith," says he, "I welcome you,
You've not been idling all this time.
65 These souls shall surely ill lodge here."
And in the cauldron they were put.
"But, sirs," says he, "it seems to me,
By all that I thus far have seen,
You have not all come back again."
70 "Yes, Sire, we have, save one alone,
A wretched one, a luckless devil,
Who has no skill to capture souls,
And knows not how men to deceive."
Just then they see this devil coming
75 And bringing leisurely enough
Upon his back the minstrel man,
Who was indeed in evil case.
All naked he has entered hell ;
And he has thrown the minstrel down.
80 The master spoke, addressed him thus :
"Vassal," he said, "attend to me ;
Were you a rogue, traitor, or thief ?"
"Not so," says he, "a minstrel I.
With me I bring the havings all
85 My body used to own on earth.
My body suffered many a chill,
And many a hard word had to bear ;
Now I am lodged in here in hell,
And I will sing, if that's your wish."
90 "With singing we have nought to do,
You must live here in other wise ;

But since I see you are so bare
 And are so very poorly clad,
 Under the cauldron keep the fire."
 "By St. Peter, with all my heart,
 95 For keeping warm is good for me."
 Then down he sat beside the hearth,
 And tends the fire quite at his ease,
 And warms up just as suits him best.
 One day it chanced the imps of hell
 100 Had gathered all together there;
 They sallied out from hell to catch
 The souls of men o'er all the earth.
 Their master came this minstrel near,
 Who kept the fire both night and day:
 105 "Minstrel," says he, "now list to me.
 I trust to you my people all;
 Guard well these souls, or lose your eyes,
 For I should put your eyes both out
 Were you to lose but one of them;
 110 And I should hang you by the neck."
 "My lord," said he, "fear not to go;
 I'll guard them all most loyally,
 The best I possibly can do,
 All your souls I'll return to you."
 115 "On that I trust them all to you;
 But know this well, be sure of it,
 If you should lose a single one
 You'd surely be devoured alive.
 But know this too, I do not lie,
 120 When we come back, our work all done,
 I'll see that you shall well be served
 With some fat monk done to a turn
 With gravy made of usurer,
 Or maybe with whoremonger sauce."
 125 So forth they go; he stays behind
 And in good earnest stirs the fire.
 Now I will tell how then he fared,
 This minstrel thus confined in hell,
 And how St. Peter managed things.
 130 Straight into hell the saint came in,
 And well indeed was he attired,
 His beard was black, moustaches curled.
 He all alone came into hell,
 And brought a dice board and three dice;
 135 Beside the minstrel sat him down
 Most quietly and spoke to him:
 "My friend," quoth he, "wish you to play?
 See what a board for gambling on!

- And I've three dice of full size all.
 140 You may well win in play with me
 Good silver coins here privately."
 And then he lets him plainly see
 The purse in which the silver lies.
 'But, sir," the minstrel answers him,
 145 "I swear by God, without deceit,
 I've nought i' th' world except my shirt.
 Sir, in God's name, go you away,
 I say I have of money nought."
 Replied the saint, "My fair sweet friend,
 150 Put up of these souls five or six."
 The minstrel said, "I should not dare,
 For if I lost a single one
 My master would me much maltreat,
 And he would eat me up alive."
 155 The answer came, "Who is to tell?
 A score of souls will ne'er be missed.
 See here the silver that's so fine:
 These pretty pieces from me win,
 All newly minted too, you see.
 160 Now, twenty shillings, that's my stake:
 Put up the worth of that in souls."
 And when he saw so many coins
 He coveted the silver much,
 The dice he took, he handled them,
 165 And to the saint he said straightway:
 "Now let us play, and be my risk
 One soul each time and only one."
 "Oh, two," said he, "that's cowardly,⁷
 And whoso wins shall add one more,
 170 I care not which, blonde or brunette!"
 The minstrel said, "We are agreed."
 And said St. Peter, "You begin."
 "But first, before the throw, the devil!
 Put down the money on the board."
 175 "With all my heart, i' th' name of God."
 Then he lays silver down for play.
 They sat them down to *tremere!*⁸

⁷ That is, the proposal of one only is cowardly.

⁸ In this game apparently one player throws each time for both, the one to throw being, each time after the first, the player who won last. Each time the first throw is for the other player, and the second one is for the thrower himself. According to vv. 168-169, Peter, winning, gets two souls and one more, making three. This win of three is the next stake, but the winner from now on gets twice the stake plus a fixed number, in this case three, each time; and this number is (by chance only?) the same as the first win of three. Cf. vv. 188, 197-198, 214, and my notes there. This practically amounts to doubling the stakes (the previous win-

- The saint and he, close by the fire.
 "Throw you for both," St. Peter said,
 180 "For you have very skilful hands."
 The minstrel throws, as I believe.
 "My word," the saint said, "I have eight.
 If now you next should throw *hasart* ⁹
 Three souls shall I get on my side."
 185 The other throws trey, deuce, and ace,
 And said St. Peter, "You have lost."
 "Indeed I have, by St. Denis!
 Let three put down now count for six." ¹⁰
 And said St. Peter, "I consent."
 190 Then he at once has thrown and got
 Twelve points at this try with the dice; ¹¹
 "You owe me nine, now I'm in luck."
 "'Tis true," said he, "I've lost again.
 If I risk more will you accept?"
 195 "Yes," said the saint, "upon my word."
 "These nine then first that I owe you
 And count twelve more whoever wins." ¹²
 "Accursed he that should refuse." ¹³

nings) each time and adding three, which is the way Semrau describes it, but the technical difference between his account and that here given (based on the original) may possibly help in explaining v. 214 and v. 296 (this last verse he finds unclear), though the game in those two places is not *tremel*; cf. my notes on both verses and that on v. 208, also v. 218. Compare *double or quits* in English.

Thus Peter wins three the first time; the second time the stake is accordingly three, and Peter wins six (twice three) plus three more, or nine in all; the next time he wins eighteen (twice nine) plus three, or twenty-one in all.

This way of counting implies that the previous winnings are ignored, except as fixing the stake, the successive winnings not being added together (three plus nine plus twenty-one would make thirty-three), but the grand total being given after each time. One might assume a third way and say that the immediately preceding winnings are each time added, and that accordingly Peter wins the second time the stake of three, plus his previous win of three, plus the fixed number three, and that he wins the third time the stake of nine, plus his previous total of nine, plus the fixed number three. But this does not serve to explain so well v. 296 (where the winnings are to be three times the stake); see my note there and that on v. 214.

⁹ In this game a certain bad or losing throw, of an unknown number of points.

¹⁰ That is, the stake is three, but the winner will get twice that number, or six. The word *avant* ("put down" in the translation), whether in the sense of 'forward,' 'put forward' (as the stake), or in the temporal sense 'first,' 'beforehand,' refers to the stake; cf. vv. 196, 214.

¹¹ This counts for the saint. The throw counting for the minstrel is not mentioned; it was of course less.

¹² More literally: "let it count (*saillie*) for twelve [more] for whoever wins." Cf. v. 218. The "twelve more" is nine plus three in the original: *Qu'il le fera valoir quarante* (the stake is twenty).

¹³ The rhyme *qui l'aît* is suspicious, repeating exactly the end of the preceding

- 200 Said then the minstrel, "Your throw now."
 "With pleasure," says he, "look at that!
 I see *hasart*, it seems to me:¹⁴
 You owe me three plus ten plus eight."¹⁵
 "See here," said he, "now, by God's head,
 That ne'er occurred at play before.
 205 Now, by the faith you owe to me,
 Are you not using here four dice?
 Or else your dice are numbered wrong.
 I want to play now for most points."¹⁶
 "Friend, in the Holy Spirit's name,
 210 I'll gladly meet your every wish:
 Now be it then just as you choose.
 Shall it be once each time or twice?"¹⁷
 "Once be it," says the minstrel. "Now,
 Here twenty, winner twenty more!"¹⁸
 215 And said St. Peter, "Help me God!"
 And then he threw without dispute

verse. I am inclined to read *laït* in one word instead of *l'ait* in v. 198; i.e., 'leaves undone,' 'fails to do' (the thing in question). This gives a suitable sense. Possibly the preceding *qui* stands for *qu'il* (= *qui le*), the *l* being lost before the following *l*.

¹⁴ The last clause should perhaps go with what follows rather than with the preceding part of this line.

¹⁵ This *hasart* (v. 201) counts for the minstrel, and he loses of course. St. Peter's throw is not mentioned.

¹⁶ A different game; the winner each time is he who gets the highest number of points. In the game as seen in this fabliau each player throws for himself, and the stakes, or more exactly the winnings, seem to be doubled as before (this seems not to be Semrau's opinion), and as before the winner gets an additional three. Cf. vv. 214 (and note), 218, 226. The peculiar throw called *hasart* in *tremere* does not appear.

¹⁷ That is, "shall each of us have one throw whenever his turn comes, or two throws in immediate succession?"

¹⁸ Why twenty is not clear. We should expect twenty-one (v. 202). Below (v. 226) the saint claims forty-three as his winnings. I explain this as twice twenty plus three. The number forty-three seems to take no account of the twenty-one previously won at *tremere*; it may be simply the amount won this time, or the previous winnings may be ignored as in *tremere* (see note on v. 177.) The new stake, indeed, was perhaps not necessarily the same as the total winnings just before; all that was necessary was probably that it should be such that if the loser up to this time should now win he would at least be out of debt. Now a stake of twenty, bringing the winner a total of forty-three, would, if the minstrel wins, cancel his debt of twenty-one and give him a claim to a money equivalent of twenty-two souls. Cf. v. 208 (note) and vv. 218, 226, also 296, 319, and notes there. Semrau's suggestion that twenty is taken instead of twenty-one, as being a round number, seems improbable.

The original has in this line: *Ces .xx. avant et .xx. après*. As I take *avant* here to refer to the stake (see note on v. 188), so I take *après* to refer to what follows the throw; that is, the winnings. As to counting "twenty more," cf. n. on v. 197.

- Points seventeen, and now he boasts
 This shall count him for forty souls.
 The minstrel answered, "That's all right.
 220 Now after you I come in turn."
 And then he throws upon the board.
 "That throw is worth less than a herring,"
 St. Peter said, "you've lost again,
 For I see fives on your three dice.
 225 To-day I'm not in great distress,
 You owe me now two score and three."¹⁹
 "Indeed," says t'other, "by God's heart,"²⁰
 I ne'er saw such a game before;
 By all the saints that are in Rome
 230 I'd not trust you nor any man
 That said you hadn't placed the dice."²¹
 "Why don't you throw? have you gone mad?"
 "I think you were an arrant thief,
 Since you are still so much a cheat
 235 That you still can't restrain yourself
 From changing dice or placing them."
 St. Peter heard, was wroth at that,
 In anger he gan say to him:
 "You lie in that, so save me God;
 240 But that's the usage of a rogue,
 When others do not as he likes,
 He tells them that they change the dice;
 A curse on him charged me with that,
 And on whoever placed the dice.
 245 A very foolish rascal you,
 Since you took me to be a thief;
 I'm much inclined, by St. Marcel,
 To wipe your ugly mug for you."
 "For sure," says he, with rage on fire,
 250 "A thief you are, you old man, you,
 Wishing to spoil my game for me.
 You shall not carry off a penny."
 "Oh, no! for you'll seize all yourself."²²

¹⁹ See note on v. 206.

²⁰ The original is *par le cuer bieu*, literally, 'by the heart of God' (*bieu* is a disguised form for *Dieu*). It is perhaps worth notice that in Chaucer's *Pardoner's Tale* the passage against *hasardrye* leads up to verses against idle swearing which contain the line, "By goddes precious herte, and by his nayles" (v. 323), as a dicer's oath. I have preferred to use a corresponding form in modern English rather than adopt one of the many disguised oaths of similar origin in English (cf. the *Oxford English Dictionary*, s. v. *God*, 13, 14).

²¹ That is, set them down carefully so as not to let them roll.

²² These two lines (253-254) I assign to St. Peter; in the printed text used they are taken as part of the minstrel's speech. "If you can" is an addition of mine.

- 255 Come on and take them, if you can."
 Up springs t' other the spoil to snatch.
 St. Peter, without more ado,
 Gives him a blow below the ribs,
 And he at that lets fall the coins;
 And he was much enraged at heart.
 260 The saint he seizes by the beard,
 And pulls at it with all his might.
 St. Peter too took hold and tore
 His clothing all, down to the waist.
 Never the minstrel felt such rage
 265 As now, to see his naked flesh
 Exposed as far as to his belt.
 Much have they scratched each other then,
 And beaten, pounded, hauled about.
 Full well the minstrel sees at last
 270 That his strength here avails him nought,
 For he is not so strong nor big
 As is the saint, nor powerful;
 And if he keeps on with the fray
 His clothes will all be so in rags
 275 They never will serve him again.
 "Now, sir," said he, "let us make peace,
 We've tried each other's strength enough;
 Now let us play again like friends,
 If it suits you and pleases you."
 280 St. Peter said, "It grieves me much
 That you blamed me about my play,
 And that you me a thief did call."
 "Sir," answered he, "I spoke as mad,
 And I regret it, do not doubt.
 285 But you have done still worse to me,
 For you have torn my clothing so
 That I shall suffer much distress;
 Now call it quits, and so will I."
 And said St. Peter, "I agree."
 290 At that they kissed in all good faith.
 "Friend," said St. Peter, "list to me,
 Souls forty-three to me you owe."²⁸
 'Tis true," says he, "by St. Germain,
 Too early ²⁹ I began the play.
 295 Now let's resume, if it please you,

²⁸ He seems to be referring only to his winnings in the second game (v. 226), not counting twenty-one won at *tremorol*; cf. notes on vv. 177, 214.

²⁹ The sense is apparently: I began playing too early in the day, before I had full possession of all my faculties, or before I was fully awake. Semrau translates the phrase (*trop main*) by "mit zu wenig Erfolg," without further explanation. Hertz has "zu mager."

- And be the count threefold or quits. . . ."²⁵
 "In God's name," says the saint, "agreed;
 But, my dear friend, just list a bit:
 300 Will you pay me without dispute?"
 "Yes," answered he, "with all my heart,
 Entirely at your wish I will,
 In knights, or ladies, canons too,
 Or thieves, or fighting men, or monks;
 305 If freemen you prefer or churls,
 Or priests, or chaplains, as you will."
 "Friend," said the saint, "you're talking sense."
 "Now make your throw and do not cheat."
 St. Peter threw and got this time
 310 A five, a four, and just one trey.
 The minstrel said, "That's twelve I see."
 "Oh dear!" St. Peter said, "oh dear!
 If Jesus takes not pity on me,
 This last throw brings me nought but shame."
 315 The other throws with eagerness,
 It's fives and deuce, and nothing more.
 "My God," the saint said, "good result
 Will yet come for me from this tie.
 Now twenty-two, win I or lose!"²⁶
 320 The minstrel said, "So let it be.
 Then throw; the risk is twenty-two."
 "I throw now, in St. Julian's name."
 St. Peter throws without delay
 Two sixes and a single ace.
 325 The saint said, "I have thrown in luck,
 For I beat you by just one point."
 "See how he's almost done for me,
 Beating me by a single point!
 I never yet was fortunate

²⁵ As it seems, a new start is made with no stake mentioned at first; later, after the tie, twenty-two seems to be the stake (v. 319); the last win of forty-three is admitted, but the game starts afresh without regard to that number. It may be observed that when the change was made before, the number seemed wrong (see v. 214 and note there). Here, if the stake is twenty-two, we should expect the winner to get sixty-six (three times twenty-two, instead of the former arrangement by which the winnings would amount to twice the stake) plus three as before, or in all sixty-nine. But no number at all is mentioned below. As at v. 214 the stake proposed, with a total of sixty-nine this time for the winner, would, if the minstrel wins, clear his debt of forty-three (plus perhaps twenty-one lost at *tremored*?), or in all at most sixty-four, and give him a claim on some of the money.

²⁶ Let the stake be twenty-two souls, hit or miss (i.e., whether he wins or loses). He will win, it seems, if he throws more than the number (twelve) at which the two players were just tied. The other player has no throw, as Peter gets thirteen and so wins.

- 330 But always was a luckless man,
A wretched man, a hapless man,
Both here and in the world alway."
Now when the souls that were in fire
Heard this and clearly understood
335 That St. Peter had won indeed,
From all sides they called out to him :
"Sire, for God's sake the glorious,
We fully trust ourselves to you."
And said St. Peter, "I accept.
340 I trust you all ; do you trust me.
From torment here you all to save
I risked at play my money all
But if I had lost everything
You would have had no chance at all.
345 If it please God, before this night
You all shall be companions mine."
At that the minstrel was struck dumb,
And then he spoke : "One thing or t'other !
I'll either square my debt in full
350 Or else I'll lose my all for good,
The souls each one and my shirt too."
I will not tire you with details :
The saint kept up the game so long
And held the minstrel so at play
355 That he at last won all the souls.
From hell he led them out in throngs,
And led them up to Paradise.
The minstrel stayed behind abashed,
In grief of mind, in anger too.
360 Lo, now the devils have come back :
When their chief was once more at home
He looked about and all around,
But saw no soul in front, behind,
In furnace none, in cauldron none.
365 The minstrel then he summoned forth :
"Speak up," he said, "where have they gone,
The souls that I left in your charge ?"
"My lord," quoth he, "I'll tell it you.
For God's sake, mercy have on me !
370 An old man came but now to me,
And brought in money, past all count.
I thought indeed to get it all,
And he and I for it we played.
But it turned out amiss for me,
375 He must have played with loaded dice,
The trickster, the deceitful man.
I had no luck, upon my word,

And I have lost your people all."
Now when the chief heard him speak thus
380 He all but hurled him in to burn :
"You whoreson rogue," quoth he, "you wretch,
Your minstrelsy costs me too dear.
A curse on him that brought you in !
By my head, he shall pay for this !"
385 They made straight for that luckless imp
Who'd brought the minstrel's soul within. . . .
393 So well they beat and hustled him
That he at last gave them his word
395 Never again at any time
To bring a minstrel into hell.
Their chief spoke to the minstrel then :
"Fair friend, be off from my abode !
A curse light on your minstrelsy,
400 Since I have lost my houseful by 't.
Be off from here, I tell you, go !
I have no care for such a servant.
I ne'er will seek a minstrel's soul,
Nor will I lodge one of that breed.
405 I'll none of them, go they their way,
Let God have them, for he loves joy !
Be off to God, they're not for me."
And he makes off fast as he can ;
The devils drive him out of hell.
410 Towards Paradise he took his way.
And when St. Peter saw him come
He ran to ope for him the gate ;
Fine lodgings he allotted him.
Now let the minstrels all make merry,
415 Be gay and joyous as they please,
For hell's torment is not for them.
There's one has saved them from that fate
Gambling away the souls at dice.

THE LIVER AS THE SEAT OF THE SOUL

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I

THE search for the soul has always been one of the favorite pursuits of man's speculative instincts from the remote period of primitive culture down to our own age, which, although so predominatingly scientific, has not — fortunately perhaps — succeeded in brushing away all the cobwebs of popular fancy. Hence it can happen that, in our own days, experiments should be undertaken in a serious spirit to weigh the human soul, — attempts which rest essentially on the same crudely materialistic conceptions that led simple folk and even philosophers in antiquity to locate the soul somewhere in the human body.

The earliest philosophy of mankind is necessarily materialistic. In man's first endeavors to find a solution for the two most striking mysteries of which he is conscious, the world of phenomena about him and the fact of his own existence, it is natural that he should, on the one hand, trace the origin of the world to some single substance as the starting-point of the evolution of matter, and that on the other, he should be led to localize in himself an element that would appear to him to constitute the essence of his own life. One might have supposed the blood to be the substance that would most naturally suggest itself as the source of life; and as a matter of fact, among many nations, both primitive and advanced, we find blood closely associated with life. This is the view that underlies the Biblical tale of Cain and Abel. The actual shedding of Abel's blood is dwelt upon as the cause of his death, and hence the ordinary expression for murder in Hebrew is the

'pouring out of blood.' Similarly the word for blood is used synonymously with the term for 'life' or 'soul.' Yet, although the sight of blood flowing from an inflicted wound would suggest in the case of both man and animals that life is to be found in the blood, inasmuch as death ordinarily ensues without violence and without any actual loss of blood, the conclusion would be drawn that there is something else besides the blood which conditions life.

Early thought does not distinguish sharply between conceptions that in a more scientific age would be kept apart, and we must pass down to the period of Greek philosophy before we encounter a differentiation between soul and life. To the primitive mind, and even in popular parlance among the advanced nations of antiquity, soul and life, even when two separate terms exist, are used interchangeably. The problem of life, therefore, as it presented itself to antiquity, was to seek for some locality in the body which might be regarded as the ultimate source of life, and hence as the seat of the soul.

Scholars have hitherto recognized that the heart was widely regarded in antiquity as the seat of life. This was the view currently held in ancient India. In Sanskrit literature the heart is the seat of thought, and since thought is the most significant and most direct manifestation of the soul, the heart is identified with the soul, and, as such, becomes also the source of all emotions and the general symbol of vitality. In the Atharva-Veda we read of "the fluttering mind that has found place in the heart."¹ Agni is pictured as confounding the evil intent of adversaries — "that which is in their heart" — and he is called upon to consume them in their hearts with pangs.² Not only is all 'thought' and 'design' placed in the heart,³ but in the philosophy of India the spirit of man is actually described as dwelling in the heart and pictured as about the size of a thumb, or in another passage as smaller than a seed of corn or rice, and yet, despite its smallness, endowed with infinity of being, and identified with the all-embracing universal soul. Even a particular spot in the heart is assigned as the seat of the

¹ Whitney-Lanman, *Atharva-Veda*, 1. 294 (vi. 18. 3).

² *Ibid.*, 1. 86 (iii. 2. 3-5).

³ *Ibid.*, 2. 651-653 (xi. 9. 1 and 13).

soul, and in sleep the soul is supposed to transfer its seat to the heart bag.

Among the Greeks and Romans we find practically the same view both in popular beliefs and among the early philosophers, as well as among the physicians down to a certain period. In Homer, all the intellectual and emotional faculties, including love and courage, are placed in the heart, which thus becomes equivalent to being the seat of soul-activity.⁴ And despite the fact that under the influence of anatomical knowledge, which established the important function of the brain — even before the days of Plato, it would seem — the view arose which gave to the head the distinction of containing the soul, in popular usage as well as in some scientific circles the older notion survived. Anacreon⁵ advised perfuming the breast, beneath which is the heart, in the belief that the perfume would bring calm to one's spirit; and Athenæus, who reports this of Anacreon, expressly adds that this was done, because according to Praxagoras and Philotimus — both physicians — the soul was located in the heart.

The more advanced view, which placed the soul in the brain, is attributed to Pythagoras and Democritus, but finds a more definite expression in Hippocrates (ca. 460–377 B.C.), who not only distinguishes between the intellectual and the emotional faculties, but within the latter recognizes two divisions: the higher emotions, like courage, and the lower, among which are the passions and appetites. The higher are located in the heart, the lower in the region of the liver. Practically the same view is taken by Plato, although, as we shall see,⁶ he also attempts a compromise between older and later views; but the greatest of Greek philosophers, Aristotle, still clings to the view that the seat of the intellectual functions is in the heart. While differentiating between soul and intellect, he makes the *nous* a part of the *psyche*.⁷

⁴ Seymour, Homeric Age, p. 489.

⁵ Athenæus, Deipnosophists, Book xv, § 36.

⁶ See below, p. 166.

⁷ De Anima, iii. 4. Aristotle specifies that the *noûs*, 'spirit,' is that wherewith the soul (*ψυχή*) thinks and grasps. See Jastrow, Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria, p. 153, note 1.

The argument of Aristotle in favor of the heart as the seat of the soul is curious, coming from one who is usually swayed by purely scientific considerations, but also interesting as illustrative of the tenacious hold of traditional conceptions even on men of science. Aristotle argues that the soul must be located in the noblest organ of the body, and that is the heart. The highest expression of man's being must come from the noblest part.

The Stoics may also be cited as examples among Greek philosophers who clung to the older view. Plutarch has an interesting passage⁸ which shows that the change from heart to brain was only gradually brought about, and that after considerable discussion as to a number of places in the head where the intellect was supposed to be located. While Plato and Democritus placed it in the head in general, Strato, he says, fixed the seat of the intellect between the eyebrows, Erasistratos underneath the scalp, Herophilos at the bottom of the head. Parmenides and Epicurus were among those who clung to the view which placed the intellect — and the soul — in the breast, the Stoics placed it in the heart, while Diogenes specified the ventricles of the heart, and Empedocles the blood of the heart — an interesting compromise between blood and heart as coextensive with life. Others, he adds, placed the soul in the arteries of the heart, some in the pericardium, and again others in the diaphragm, — a compromise between liver and heart. The eclectic disposition reaches its limit in the views of those who, like Pythagoras, made the soul extend from the head to the heart or even to the diaphragm.⁹ Among the arguments used by the Stoics in support of their preference for the heart as against the head, Galen (ca. 130–200 A.D.) furnishes the one offered by Zeno, which is curious enough to be added.¹⁰ Zeno reasoned as follows: The voice comes through the throat. If it came from the head, it would not pass through the throat; whence the voice comes must also

⁸ *De Placitis Philosophorum*, iv. 5.

⁹ In judging of these strange and erratic opinions, it is well to bear in mind that as late as the Middle Ages the belief was quite general, even among physiologists, that the soul was located in a particular spot at the base of the brain.

¹⁰ *Œuvres de Galen*, 2. 244 f. (edited by Daremberg).

be the seat of the intellect. Hence the head cannot be the seat of the intellect.

In Hebrew, likewise, the heart is the seat of the intellect, and although the literary language differentiates between intellectual and emotional processes — the emotions being placed beneath the diaphragm in the bowels or kidneys — there are numerous passages in the Old Testament, especially in poetry (see below, p. 148), which prove the persistence of the older conception that concentrated within the heart all the intellectual and emotional functions associated with the manifestation of man's soul-activity.

In illustration of Latin usage, we find Persius (*Satires*, vi. 2) employing the phrase 'cor jubet hoc Enni' as the equivalent to Ennius hoc jubet;¹¹ and as further evidence for the strength which this older view maintained even among men of science down to a late day, it is sufficient to quote the utterance of Paracelsus, "Cæterum non corpus homo est sed cor est homo,"¹² or the saying of a late Spanish chronicler that "The root of man is his heart." Vauvenargues reflects the same view when he declares, "Les grandes pensées viennent du cœur," and we speak of 'learning by heart' and 'knowing something by heart,'¹³ just as our word 'record' takes us back to the age which believed that knowledge was deposited in the heart. In sacrificial rites among various nations the heart of the victim is accorded special honors as the seat of life, and in further illustration of this distinction accorded to the heart, we have the large number of instances, from the days of Robert d'Arbrissel (died 1117) down to our own days, of special burials for the hearts of rulers, saints, and warriors.¹⁴

¹¹ Ennius, who spoke three languages, Greek, Oscan, and Latin, significantly says of himself that he has 'three hearts' (Gellius, *Noctes*, Book xvii. 17), — another indication of the identification of the heart with the seat of intellect.

¹² *Interpretatio alia totius Astronomiæ* (Paracelsi Opera, 2. 670, Geneva, 1658).

¹³ Compare the French 'apprendre par cœur,' 'je sais par cœur.'

¹⁴ See the long list of illustrations in Andry, *Recherches sur le Cœur et le Foie* (Paris, 1856), pp. 106-122. It was customary also for the hearts of the rulers of Bavaria to be taken out of the bodies and to be buried in the church at Ettal, even when the bodies were placed elsewhere.

II

There is, however, considerable evidence at our disposal to show that in a still earlier age than the one which selected the heart as the seat of the soul, there was another organ to which this distinction was accorded, namely, the liver. In Greek poetry, it has been observed,¹⁵ the word *ἥπαρ* is introduced where in prose the word for 'heart' would be used. When the poet wishes to say of one that he is mortally wounded, he does not say that 'he is struck in the heart' but that he is 'hit in the liver.'¹⁶ Megarus, disconsolate over the death of his children, prays that he too may die through a poisoned arrow in his liver.¹⁷ The late Professor Lamberton informed me that he did not recall a single instance in Greek poetry in which the word 'heart' was employed as indicative of the seat of vitality. Such a circumstance points unmistakably to a time when the liver was regarded as the seat of life, or, what in popular fancy amounts to the same thing, as the seat of the soul. Poetic speech, by virtue of the general archaic character of poetry, retains the earlier view. Bion¹⁸ makes Venus express the hope at the sight of the slain Adonis that the last breath of her son may pass into her liver, *i.e.* into her soul, and so Hecuba, vowing vengeance for her husband's death, declares that she will not rest until she has devoured 'the liver' of Achilles.¹⁹

The myth of Prometheus chained to a rock, as the punishment sent by the gods, with a vulture eating his liver, rests on the same belief, the liver being selected as the seat of vitality. Incidentally, this touch reveals the antiquity of the myth, and the same applies to the story of Tityus, the son of Jupiter, who, for having violated Latone, is punished by having a serpent (or vultures) pick at his liver.²⁰

In Hebrew likewise there are traces of this earlier view. While, as we have seen, the word for 'heart' (*leb*) is used as a synonym of *nephesh*, 'soul,' there are two passages in

¹⁵ See Stephanus, *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*; or Passow, *Griechisches Wörterbuch*, under *ἥπαρ*; Blecher, *De Extispicio*, p. 58. ¹⁶ Cf. Anacreon, Ode 3.

¹⁷ Moschus, *Idyll* iv. 30. ¹⁸ Bion, *Idyll* 1. 47. ¹⁹ *Iliad*, xxiv. 212.

²⁰ Hyginus, *Fabulae*, lv.; according to Homer, *Iliad*, xi. 578, by vultures.

the Old Testament in which the word for 'liver' (kābēd) occurs instead. In Lamentations ii. 11 the poet says:

Poured out on the earth is my liver, over the destruction of my people, where the expression of the liver being poured out is synonymous with the more common one of the blood or the soul being poured out.²¹ Since the gall belongs to the liver, the phrase in Job xvi. 13 of the "gall poured on the ground," is synonymous with the usage in Lamentations.

Again, in Proverbs vii. 23, in a description of how one who falls into the meshes of the lewd woman is lured on to destruction, we read:

Until the arrow pierces his liver, as the bird rushes to the trap, not knowing that it means his life (nephesh).

Here there is a direct juxtaposition of 'liver' and 'life' (or soul), the two terms being used synonymously, as elsewhere 'heart' and 'life.' In the Psalms likewise there are a number of passages in which by the consensus of scholars we must read kābēd, 'liver,' instead of kābôd, 'honor,' as the text has it. So *e.g.* Ps. vii. 6:

Let him tread down my life to the earth, and drag my liver to the dust.

Here again we have the juxtaposition of 'life' and 'liver.' So also in Ps. xxx. 13 the correct reading is

That my liver may sing praise unto thee and not be silent,

synonymous with the frequent phrase 'let my heart be glad,' or 'let my soul rejoice.'

It is interesting to note also that there are some passages in which the earlier and later views are combined by the introduction of both organs, heart and liver, that together sum up what we should call soul. In Ps. xvi. 9 the Psalmist says:

Therefore my heart is glad, and my liver exulteth.

In Ps. cviii. 2:

My heart is steadfast, O God! I will chant and I will sing — aye, my liver (shall sing).

²¹ In Malay, similarly, blood and liver are used as synonymous (*Fasciculi Malayenses*, Part i. p. 178).

Here the phrase 'aye, my liver' is equivalent to 'aye, my soul.'²² The use of the liver or of the gall in ancient medicine reverts to the same conceptions held of the liver as the seat of vitality. From the Talmud²³ we learn that the liver of the dog was a remedy against hydrophobia. Tobit restores the sight of his father by rubbing his eyes with the gall of a fish.²⁴ Both remedies are clearly based on the supposition that the liver as the seat of life or of the soul is capable of restoring the intellect and sight, which are manifestations of soul life. The angel Raphael tells Tobit that by burning the liver of the fish the demon may be chased away, and it is only the other side of the picture if the gall is viewed as destructive of life, as, *e.g.*, in the famous passage in Matthew xxvii. 34, according to which Jesus on the cross is given 'gall' mixed with vinegar. It is a common phenomenon in popular traditions that what gives life is also capable of taking it away. Corresponding then to the use of the liver in restoring the mind of man, the drinking of gall is portrayed by Habakkuk (ii. 15) as depriving a man of his reason.

The natives of the Tonga Islands²⁵ attribute left-handedness to the fact that the liver lies more to the left side, while in the case of ambidextrous persons, the liver is supposed to be situated toward the middle between the two sides. The underlying belief is evidently in this case also that the liver is the seat of movements which a later age attributed to the brain as the seat of the soul, and the same belief accounts for the fact that these natives attribute liver diseases to the gods, who select this organ as the seat

²² There are good grounds for believing that the phrase *kebôd* Yahweh, 'glory of God,' stands in some connection with the view that makes the liver the seat of the soul. The 'glory of God,' in the sense in which we moderns take it, has no place in ancient Hebrew (or Semitic) thought. The real meaning of the phrase comes nearer to the notion of 'spirit,' 'essence,' of God. The substantive form *kâbôd* may, therefore, ultimately rest upon the identification of *kâbêd*, 'liver,' with 'soul,' 'life,' 'vitality,' 'spirit,' and the like. See Vollers, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, ix. 180 f.

²³ Yoma (Babli), 84a.

²⁴ Chap. xi. 4, 8, 13. See also vi. 7-9. Some texts reflecting later practices read, 'the heart, gall-bladder, and liver.'

²⁵ See Mariner, *Tonga Islands*, 2. 127, quoted by Andry, pp. 78 and 233. It is merely a shifting from liver to heart that leads Nicholas Massa to explain left-handedness and right-handedness according to the position of the heart.

of vitality to punish those guilty of transgressing taboo ordinances.

In Arabic, too, although the word for heart is used as the seat of the intellect, we have instances of the occurrence of the term *kabid*, 'liver,' in a connection which shows that the Arabs at one time associated the liver with the soul.

In answer to a question whether a Moslem might expect to receive divine reward for good deeds to animals, Mohammed is reported to have said, "for every moist liver there is a reward."²⁶ The 'moist liver' is the 'living liver,' and the 'living liver' is the 'living soul.' On the occasion of a great grief, when the fidelity of his favorite spouse was questioned, Mohammed says of himself, "I cried two nights and one day, until it seemed as though my liver would split,"²⁷ equivalent to our phrase 'as though my heart would break.' In Arabic poetry the word for liver is used, as in Hebrew poetry, as a synonym for 'soul,' and there is an instance of a variant reading 'laceration of the soul' for 'laceration of the liver.'²⁸

An abundance of additional evidence for the same belief among various other nations is at our disposal, all pointing to the circumstance that at an earlier period the liver was accorded the position subsequently assigned to the heart, and still later to the brain.²⁹ So, to give only a few more examples, the Armenians speak of a 'broken liver,' where we should say a 'broken heart,'³⁰ and the Persians to express the idea of fear say that 'one's liver has melted.' Among the Chinese,³¹ in popular beliefs as well as in medical treatises, the liver is regarded as the seat of the soul. Its predominance over the heart is indicated by the designation of the liver as the 'mother of the heart,' that is to say, the source of the functions assigned to the heart. Among

²⁶ Bokhari (ed. Krehl) 2. 78 (chap. 42. 9). ²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 155 (chap. 52. 15).

²⁸ Ghuzûlî Matâli' al-Budûr (Cairo ed.) 1. 198, line 6; Thousand and One Nights (2d Bulak ed.) 2. 236. I owe these references to my friend, Professor C. C. Torrey, of Yale University.

²⁹ Gathered by Felix Andry, *Recherches sur le cœur et le foie* (Paris, 1856), pp. 225-279, without, however, recognizing the real significance of the valuable material amassed by him with such diligence.

³⁰ Andry, p. 231, on the authority of Mr. Dulaurier.

³¹ Scheube, in Neuburger and Pagel, *Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin*, p. 25.

the Chinese we find the belief, current also among other nations, that if one eats the liver or gall bladder (as a part of the liver) of one's enemy, one obtains the enemy's courage.³²

In the Latin poets we encounter the liver as the seat of anger, but also as the seat of love, of pity, as well as of fear and the passions in general.³³ When Ovid³⁴ refers to the custom of making an image of the enemy, and piercing the region of the liver with a needle, as a form of sympathetic magic, to bring about the death of the enemy, we have another illustration of the primitive conceptions which were connected with the liver, and which were subsequently transferred to the heart;³⁵ and when Hippocrates,³⁶ despite his advanced position in assigning the highest functions of life to the brain, still declares that the liver is the seat of the blood, he is simply giving expression in more scientific form to the primitive view, which places in the liver the seat of life. Blood being associated with life, the liver as the seat of the blood would be at the same time the seat of life.

Even in our own modern and Occidental speech traces of this view regarding the liver which was once so general have survived. Rabelais³⁷ uses the phrase "Je t'ayme du bon du foye," where liver is the equivalent of 'heart' or even soul. The English expression 'white-livered' (see below, p. 168), like its Greek equivalent *λευκηπατίας*, is used as a term of reproach for the cowardly man, but it rests for all that on the belief that the liver is the seat of courage. It is the pale color that transforms the courageous into a timid man, and this is in accord with the usage among primitive peoples, who regard a large liver as an index of great bravery.³⁸ In German, one still describes a man of frank, open mind by saying 'er spricht frisch von der Leber weg' ('he speaks directly from the liver'), and it is only a slight modification from the same underlying view when we say, of one who is

³² Andry, p. 232.

³³ See the collection of passages in Andry, p. 240.

³⁴ *Heroides*, vi. 91-92.

³⁵ See the picture of a pig's heart transfixed with pins and thorns, an English rustic's malicious charm. (Joseph Jastrow, *Malicious Animal Magnetism*, in *Hampton's Magazine*, October, 1910, p. 451.)

³⁶ Andry, p. 277. See below, p. 166.

³⁷ Quoted by Andry, p. 276.

³⁸ Andry, p. 232, reports this of the inhabitants of the Tonga Islands.

dull and colorless, that 'he has no bile';³⁹ and so illustrations might be multiplied almost ad infinitum.

III

The definite proof that the location of the soul was at one time quite generally placed in the liver is furnished by the divination rites prevailing among people living in a state of primitive culture. In Borneo, Uganda, Burma, and elsewhere, when it is desired to forecast the future, to know the outcome of sickness, the result of a military expedition, and the like, the invariable method is to kill a pig or fowl or goat, and to inspect the liver. From the shape and color of the organ, and from peculiar symptoms noted on the lobes or the gall-bladder or on the various ducts, the will and intention of the gods are determined.⁴⁰ Similarly among the inhabitants of Nadravia it is believed that by examining the liver — also the spleen — of a pig one can determine how the winter will turn out, whether the crops will be good, whether the early or the late seed will thrive.⁴¹ Such

³⁹ Also in French usage (Andry, p. 235), 'qui ne se fait pas de bile'; and in German, 'er hat keine Galle.'

⁴⁰ Furness, *Home Life of Borneo Head Hunters*, p. 43. Dr. Furness kindly gave me a copy of a drawing made by him of a pig's liver inspected in his presence in November, 1897, in Borneo, to obtain omens for a great peacemaking between hostile tribes. See also Haddon, *Head Hunters*, p. 336 f.; Hose and McDougal in *Journal of the Anthropol. Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1901, p. 180 f.; H. Ling Roth, *Natives of Sarawak*, 1. 190; R. G. Latham, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 1. 61 f.; J. G. Scott, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma*, 1. 552. A malformed liver or one of an unusually dark color is an unfavorable omen; a smooth and pale-colored one is favorable. Mr. J. G. Frazer in a letter to the writer (June 20, 1907) quotes from his notes of a conversation with Messrs. Roscoe and Miller, missionaries to Uganda, that "divination was practised in Uganda, goats were killed, and from an inspection of the inwards the diviner made his prediction. The liver was especially consulted." Many travellers in describing divination rites among primitive peoples speak in an indefinite way of the "entrails," others of the heart and lungs (see the quotations in Blecher, *de Extispicio*, p. 73 f.), but one may be permitted to doubt whether the explorers in question actually witnessed the inspection. It will probably be found that the 'entrails' were in reality the liver; and when Spenser St. John speaks of "signs discovered upon the heart" of the pig among the Sakarang Dayaks (*Life in the Forests of the Far East*, 1. 63 f.), it was in all probability a liver that he saw, or that was described to him. Unless an explorer has his attention especially directed towards it, he might easily mistake one part of a victim for the other.

⁴¹ *Mattheus Prætorius, Deliciæ Prussicæ* (ed. Pierson, Berlin, 1870). I owe this reference to Dr. L. H. Gray.

rites rest on the belief that the liver is the seat of life, and can be satisfactorily explained only on this assumption. As will be pointed out below, the soul of the animal, dedicated to a deity and accepted by him, reflects the soul of the god. If, therefore, one reads the soul of a pig, fowl, or goat as the case may be, one obtains, as it were, an insight into the soul of the god. The rite on this assumption becomes intelligible, and it may be put down as an axiom that primitive rites everywhere rest on a well-defined theory, — frequently elaborate and complicated, — and are not the outcome of mere caprice or fancy.

The view that the liver is the seat of life or of the soul crops out also in such beliefs found among primitive peoples as that the liver of the dead guru transmits to the one who eats it the powers of its former possessor,⁴² or that the dried and pulverized liver of buffaloes, when given to cows, insures their fertility.⁴³

The same method of divination plays a most prominent part in the Babylonian-Assyrian ritual, and it is sufficient to refer for the full exposition of the rite with copious examples to chapter 20 in the writer's *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* (2. 213-415). The antiquity of the rite and hence its direct descent from primitive conditions is shown by the references to it in the earliest Babylonian texts,⁴⁴ while the strong hold that the rite had secured follows from its persistence from the oldest period down to the end of the Neo-Babylonian Empire. On all occasions when it became important to determine what the gods had in mind for the country or the individual, divination through the liver of a sacrificial animal — invariably a sheep — was the means resorted to. So closely indeed was the liver bound up with divination that the cuneiform sign for liver was also used as the designation of an omen.⁴⁵ That the Babylonians, indeed, also reached the stage in which the important functions of the heart by the side of the liver were recognized,

⁴² Dehon, *Religion and Customs of the Uraons* (Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1. 143).

⁴³ Klinghardt, *Beobachtungen aus Mpororo* (German Africa), in *Globus*, 87. 308.

⁴⁴ Gudea (ca. 2350 B.C.). See Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, 2. 273.

⁴⁵ Jastrow, *Religion*, 2. 217.

is to be granted, and follows from the phrase so frequently found in lamentation hymns addressed to an angered deity: "May thy heart be at rest, thy liver be appeased."⁴⁶ Here 'heart' and 'liver' sum up the personality of the deity; and it is reasonable to conclude that in this combination 'heart' represents, as in Hebrew, the intellect, and 'liver' the emotions. Despite this differentiation, however, the heart does not appear at any time to have found a place in the divination rites of the Babylonians and Assyrians. This is a valuable confirmation of the thesis that the location of the soul in the liver represents the older and more primitive view, and, therefore, was assigned a place in the ritual to the exclusion of the heart.

The prominent part played by divination through the liver, or hepatoscopy, among the Babylonians and Assyrians from the oldest to the latest period illustrates not only the importance attached to the rite, but also the persistency of the belief in the theory underlying the rite. That theory may be briefly stated as follows:⁴⁷

The god in accepting the animal offered to him assimilates himself with the animal, much in the same way that a man becomes one with the food that he eats. The pouring or smearing of the animal's blood over the altar or stone that is the seat of the deity is merely a symbolical expression of the view that the god is actually united to the animal. The soul of the god and the soul of the animal are thus put in complete accord. The two souls may be compared to two watches regulated to show exactly the same time, so that if you see the one, you know the indications furnished by the other. The liver of the sacrificial animal as the seat of the soul thus becomes the exact reflection of the soul, *i.e.*, therefore, the mind and thought of the god. If one can read the indications furnished by the animal's liver aright, one enters thereby into the mind of the god and can de-

⁴⁶ Jastrow, *Religion*, 2. 29, 76, 78, 82, 85, 98, etc. (in all of which passages the word in question is *kabittu*, and should therefore have been literally translated as 'Leber,' and not 'Gemüt').

⁴⁷ For a fuller statement see a paper by the writer, "Hepatoscopy and Astrology among the Babylonians and Assyrians" (*Proceedings American Philosophical Society*, 49. 646-676) and chapter iii in the writer's *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* (N.Y., 1911).

termine his innermost thought. Liver divination is therefore the earliest form of 'mind reading,' and the prognostication of the future follows as a natural corollary. The future being in control of the gods, if one knows what is in the mind of the gods, one knows what is going to happen on earth.

IV

There are two points of view from which the study of liver divination among the Babylonians and Assyrians assumes an importance transcending the mere significance attached to an old religious rite. Through this study we are led to a view of animal sacrifice which has hitherto escaped the notice of investigators, and the very antiquity of the rite makes it at least possible that the offering of an animal for the purpose of divining the future through the inspection of the liver may represent the oldest motive for animal sacrifice in general. Certainly, among the Babylonians and Assyrians, the actual killing of the animal in honor of a god appears to have been undertaken solely as a means of divining the will and intentions of the gods. The evidence is both abundant and conclusive that the offering of an animal was always associated with the divining of the future, and was viewed as a divination rite among the Babylonians and Assyrians. The thought of a sacrifice as a means of communion between the worshipper and the deity, whatever may be the facts among other nations,⁴⁸ is conspicuous for its absence in the civilization produced in the Euphrates Valley; and even sacrifice as a tribute appears to be secondary in character. Without entering into the details of the subject here, which would carry us too far, the suggestion may be thrown out that sacrifice as tribute, which is fundamental to the rite as set forth in the Pentateuchal codes, represents a higher and later view. The compilers of these codes must, of course, have known that animal sacrifice was a rite common to the nations around. In embodying it as a rite in their code, both in connection with the expiatory and puri-

⁴⁸ It is sufficient to refer here to Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 251 f., and the same author's article on 'Sacrifice' in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (10th edition).

fication ritual and as a symbol of thanksgiving, they sought to invest it with a new meaning that would separate it from associations distasteful to them, and for this reason conceived of it as a tribute to the deity.⁴⁹

Sacrifice as a symbol of communion between the worshipper and the god appears to be incidental to the rite, prompted by the desire or instinct to sanctify the blood on the one hand, and on the other to participate actively in this sanctification.

Liver divination has wider bearings also from another point of view. It marks the beginnings of the study of anatomy,⁵⁰ for in the effort to note the signs on the liver, the organ itself was studied, and a terminology developed which distinguished its various parts. Thus the right and left lobe were distinguished as the right and left wing, the gall-bladder was designated as the 'bitter' part, the cystic duct by an ideograph which appears to have conveyed the idea of a penis, while the hepatic duct was spoken of as the 'foot.' The upper lobe, known in modern terminology as the lobus caudatus, was likewise distinguished by a separate designation, as were the two appendices attached to this lobe, the larger one (the processus pyramidalis) being appropriately named the 'finger' of the liver. The porta hepatis was described as a 'womb,' while the markings on the liver, due for the most part to the tracings on the liver surface of the subsidiary ducts gathering the gall from the liver into the hepatic duct, were known as 'holes,' 'paths,' or 'weapons,' and fantastically associated, according to their constantly varying forms, with the weapons of the gods.

The method of divination rested largely on association of ideas. A long cystic duct was interpreted as pointing to long life, or to a long reign; the swollen gall-bladder, to increase, with a further differentiation according as the swelling appeared on the right side or on the left side. As

⁴⁹ From this point of view the protest against sacrifice as a divination rite, embodied in the ordinance to burn the 'flap over the liver' (the processus pyramidalis), becomes all the more intelligible. See on this ordinance, Professor G. F. Moore's paper in the Noeldeke Festschrift, pp. 761 ff., and the note by the writer in Jastrow, *Religion*, 2. 231.

⁵⁰ See a paper by the writer on 'Divination through the Liver and the Beginnings of Anatomy' (*Transactions of the College of Physicians*, 29. 117-138).

among other nations, the right was the favorable, and the left the unfavorable side. A 'doubled' hepatic duct on the right side indicated assistance from the gods, a well preserved 'finger' (processus pyramidalis) meant good luck. If the hepatic duct lay well in the porta hepatis and firmly attached to it, the omen was favorable; if loosely attached or separated from it, unfavorable; and the like. It will be readily seen how endless the variations would turn out to be. No two livers ever presented exactly the same appearance, and thus in the course of time a vast collection of signs with their prognostications were gathered by the priests attached to the temples, that served the purpose of guides or handbooks to determine the general result in any particular instance. The various parts of the liver and all the markings and other peculiarities were examined, and according as the majority of them proved favorable or unfavorable, a general conclusion was drawn as to whether the gods were favorably disposed towards any proposed undertaking, or whether the moment chosen was not opportune.

In view of the fact to which attention was above directed,⁵¹ that divination through the liver is still practised among people living in a primitive state of culture, the conclusion is warranted that the Babylonian system is based on the primitive custom, representing an elaboration of the early popular practice brought about through the *bārû*-priests. More than this, it was because of the perfection of this elaborate system that the rite managed to survive throughout the phases of culture through which the Babylonians and Assyrians in the course of many centuries passed. From the earliest period down to the days of the last king of Babylonia,⁵² hepatoscopy continued in force as the official method of divining the future; and while other methods were also resorted to, none equalled in importance and scope the system of divination through the liver.

Outside of Babylonia, the most significant instance of hepatoscopy is furnished by the Etruscans, among whom likewise an elaborate system was developed. The evidence for this, drawn from the Latin writers, was so conclusive as

⁵¹ See above, p. 153 f.

⁵² See the proof in Jastrow, *Religion*, 2. 273 f.

to lead Bouché-Leclercq thirty years ago⁵³ to sum up the Etruscan system of divination as "l'étude du foie est le tout de l'art." His view has been confirmed by later students,⁵⁴ and more particularly through the discovery of a bronze model of a liver covered with Etruscan inscriptions.⁵⁵ This model forms a striking companion piece to a clay model of a liver acquired by the British Museum in 1891, which dates, as the writing shows, from the Hammurapi period, i.e. ca. 2000 B.C.⁵⁶ Like the latter, it must have been used as an object lesson in hepatoscopy for the instruction of the young aspirants to the priesthood. In both models the chief parts of the liver are indicated, and the inscriptions show that the liver was regarded as a means of divining the future. Further evidence that the liver was regarded as the organ of revelation is furnished by a monument of an Etruscan augur, who holds a liver in his hand as his trade mark.⁵⁷ We have, therefore, the proof that among the Etruscans likewise the belief which placed the seat of the soul in the liver survived up to the advanced period when the primitive method of divining through the liver was developed into a system, and taught to the priests as an integral part of their training.

It is generally admitted that the Romans adopted their methods of divination from the Etruscans, as is shown by the fact that the augurs in Rome and those who accompanied the Roman armies on their expeditions were almost invariably from Etruria.⁵⁸ That among the Romans likewise divination was at first restricted to the liver is attested by the notice in Pliny, that at the time Pyrrhus was driven from Italy, corresponding to the year 274 B.C., the heart was for the first time used as a means of divining the future.⁵⁹ The conclusion is therefore warranted that up to this period

⁵³ *Histoire de la Divination dans l'Antiquité*, 4. 69 (Paris, 1877).

⁵⁴ See especially Thulin, *Die Etruskische Disciplin*, 2. 20 f. (Göteborg, 1905).

⁵⁵ Körte, "Die Bronzeleber von Piacenza," in *Mitteilungen des kaiserlichen deutschen archäologischen Instituts (Römische Abteilung)*, 20. 348-379. It dates from about the third century B.C.

⁵⁶ *Cuneiform Texts, etc.*, Part vi, Pl. 1.

⁵⁷ See the illustration in Körte's paper, Pl. XIV; also in Blecher, *De Extispicio*, Tab. III, fig. 2.

⁵⁸ Cicero, *De Divinatione*, i. 41, who also tells us that it was customary to send the children of the principal senators to Etruscan tribes to be instructed in divination.

⁵⁹ *Hist. Nat.*, Book xi. § 71.

the liver alone was examined; and the fact that in the omens referred to by the Latin writers it is the liver that is in most cases mentioned, bears out the conclusion.

A most interesting passage is to be found in the eleventh book of Pliny (§ 73), devoted to a description of the various organs and parts of the body of animals. "The liver," says Pliny, "lies on the right side, and that part of it which is called the head (*caput*)⁶⁰ presents a great variety." At the time of the death of Marcellus, who perished in the conflict against Hannibal, it was missing among the *exta*. On the following day (in connection with the sacrifice) a double *caput* appeared. The *caput* was missing also at a sacrifice which C. Marius brought at Utica, likewise in the case of Gaius on the first of January of the year in which he entered upon the consulate and during which he was killed, and again in the case of his successor Claudius in the month in which he was poisoned.⁶¹ When the Emperor Augustus on the first day of his rule offered up victims, the livers were found folded (*replicata*) from the lower end (*fibra*). The omen was interpreted as pointing to a 'duplication' of the extent of his power within the year. 'If the head is split,' we are told, it is always a bad sign, except when one is in trouble and pain. In such cases it indicates a removal of the evil. Pliny refers also to the use of the gall-bladder for purposes of divination, and mentions that on the day of Augustus's victory at Actium, a double gall-bladder was found in the sacrificial victim.

Livy has many passages in which he refers to the *exta* examined on various occasions,⁶² but the only specific indications furnished by him are in reference to signs on the liver. So *e.g.* in the 27th book of his History he gives a detailed account of the death of Marcellus, and in agreement with Pliny states that at the first inspection the 'head of the liver' (*caput jocineris*) was missing, and that in the case of the victim on the following day the 'head' appeared doubled.⁶³

⁶⁰ The *processus pyramidalis*, which in Greek hepatoscopy is designated as *δ λοβός*. See below p. 162, note 71, and above, note 49.

⁶¹ Other examples of this omen are given by Andry, *loc. cit.*, p. 245 f.

⁶² See the passages in Blecher, *De Extispicio*, pp. 11-14.

⁶³ Book xxvii. 26. See also Valerius Maximus, *Memorabilia*, i. 6. 9; Plutarch, Marcellus, § 29.

On another occasion, when Q. Petilius sacrificed a victim, the 'head' of the liver was missing,⁶⁴ and the same phenomenon is noted by him at other inspections.⁶⁵ Similarly Julius Obsequens specifies in four instances mentioned by him that the 'head' of the liver was not found,⁶⁶ and only in one case does he refer to the heart.⁶⁷ It would appear, therefore, that even after the inspection of other organs — notably the heart — was added to that of the liver, chief attention was still paid to the signs on the liver — an indication that hepatoscopy was at one time the prevailing method of divination among the Romans, as among the Etruscans and Babylonians. The addition of the heart to the liver corresponds manifestly to the time when, instead of regarding the liver as the seat of vitality, the heart was accorded this distinction; and this change reflected no doubt the progress in anatomical knowledge, through which the important functions of the heart were more clearly recognized. Andry has shown that everywhere the investigation of the anatomy of the heart is later than the knowledge of the functions of the liver. With the addition, however, of the examination of the heart to that of the liver, the theoretical basis upon which hepatoscopy rested, namely the belief that the liver was the seat of the soul, was lost sight of. With the modification of this belief through the transference of the seat to the heart, the rationale of hepatoscopy disappeared. Consistency would have demanded that heart divination should take the place of liver divination. By retaining the latter and adding to the examination of the liver that of the heart, a compromise with advancing anatomical science was effected, with the fatal result, however, of changing the rite into a meaningless superstition. To this period, after the disappearance of the theoretical basis of hepatoscopy, belongs the general term *exta*, which is invariably used by the Latin writers when referring to divination through a sacrificial animal. Through the analysis here given we can now understand why, despite the employment of the general term, it is not the 'entrails,' as is generally assumed by

⁶⁴ Book xli. 14. ⁶⁵ Book xli. 15. ⁶⁶ De Prodigis (ed. Rossbach), 17, 35, 47, 55.

⁶⁷ § 67, on the occasion when Cæsar was invested. See also Cicero, De Divinatione, i. 119.

investigators, that were the subject of examination, but primarily, even to the latest days, the liver, and by the side of the liver, in the first place the heart, and then the lungs, and occasionally the milt.⁶⁸ The term *exta* was merely introduced as a general one, to embrace the entire scope.

Similarly, in the Greek writers we encounter a general term *ἱερά* or *ἱερεῖα*, 'the sacred parts,'⁶⁹ used for divination through a sacrificial animal. And yet, as a matter of fact, when we examine the passages in which specific instances of such divination are given, it is again the liver or parts of the liver that are almost invariably mentioned. So *e.g.* the messenger in the *Electra* of Euripides, describing how Orestes stole upon Ægisthos, as the latter was bending over the *ἱερά* of the sacred victim to ascertain what the signs portended, says:⁷⁰

Holding the sacred parts in his hands

Ægisthos examined; and there was no lobe⁷¹

To the entrails;⁷² the gate⁷³ and the bag of the gall-bladder black,
Portending evil prognostications to the one examining (them).

Similarly, when Æschylus describes the benefits conferred by Prometheus on mankind, the art of divination through the flight of birds and through the sacrificial victim is prominently mentioned; and although in the description of the latter method the general term *σπλάγχνα*, 'entrails,' is employed, the specific organ referred to is the liver,⁷⁴

⁶⁸ See Thulin, *Die Etruskische Disciplin*, 2. 23.

⁶⁹ See the passages in Blecher, *De Extispicio*, pp. 3-11. ⁷⁰ Lines 826-829.

⁷¹ The lobe *par excellence* in Greek hepatoscopy is the finger-shaped appendix known as the *processus pyramidalis*, corresponding to the *caput jecoris* (or *jocineria*), 'head of the liver,' in Roman hepatoscopy. See above, p. 160. This term *ὁ λαβός* is employed in the Greek translation of the *Pentateuch* for the Hebrew equivalent of the 'processus pyramidalis' (see above, p. 157, note 49), an interesting indication that the translators were familiar with the terminology of Greek hepatoscopy. This 'appendix' is described in Nicander, *Theriaca*, 559 f., as "the top lobe growing from the table (*i.e.*, the *lobus caudatus*), and bending over near the gall-bladder and the gate (*porta hepatis*)."

⁷² *σπλάγχνα*, a general term corresponding to the Latin *exta*, but evidently intended in passages like this for the liver.

⁷³ *πύλαι*, the designation of the depression between the upper lobe (*lobus caudatus*) of the liver and the left lower lobe (*lobus sinister*). The term still survives in modern anatomical nomenclature, which designates this part of the liver as the *porta hepatis*, 'gate of the liver.' See Jastrow, *Religion* (German ed.), 2. 220.

⁷⁴ Prometheus, lines 495-499.

The entrails' smoothness,
 what color would be pleasing to the gods,
 the well-proportioned shape of the gall and lobe.⁷⁵

Particularly significant in this respect is the testimony of Xenophon, who in his various writings has frequent references to omens, derived from the examination of the victim.⁷⁶ He contents himself in all but two passages with the general term *iepd*, and in these passages⁷⁷ he specifies that "the liver was without a lobe," which was regarded as unfavorable. The same inauspicious omen is mentioned by Plutarch in connection with an incident in the campaign of Alexander against Babylonia. Upon being told by Pythagoras, the diviner, that the lobe of the victim's liver was lacking, Alexander exclaimed, "Alas, the omen is terrible."⁷⁸ Great stress is laid upon the same omen in Arrian's account of this campaign of Alexander.⁷⁹ Plutarch in the life of Aratus (§ 43) refers to the appearance of a "double gall-bladder, enclosed in one bag," a phenomenon that is not infrequent in the case of diseased livers of sheep. The omen was interpreted as foreshadowing a covenant that Aratus would make with his greatest enemy,⁸⁰ and the same Plutarch recounts⁸¹ how the death of one of his relatives was announced to Pyrrhus by a diviner because of the absence of the lobe of the liver on the occasion of a sacrifice. Thus it is always some part of the liver or some mark on the liver that is specified whenever divination through a sacrificial victim is spoken of in Greek writers. There does not in fact appear to be a single passage in which any other organ

⁷⁵ *I.e.* again the *processus pyramidalis*.

⁷⁶ *E.g.*, *Anabasis*, i. 8. 15; ii. 2. 3; v. 2. 9; 4. 22; 6. 23; vi. 2. 15; 4. 9; 4. 13; 4. 16; 4. 17; 4. 19; 5. 2; vii. 6. 44; 8. 10; *Hellenica*, iii. 1. 17; 3. 4; 4. 15; iv. 4. 5; 7. 7; 8. 36; *Cyropædia*, ii. 4. 18.

⁷⁷ *Hellenica*, iii. 4. 15; iv. 7. 7.

⁷⁸ *Life of Alexander*, § 73.

⁷⁹ *Arrian, Anabasis*, vii. 18. 2-5. Four instances are cited.

⁸⁰ By a natural association of ideas the 'double' gall-bladder in one bag is interpreted as referring to a close union. Aratus — so the narrative proceeds — soon thereafter was invited to a feast by his former enemy Antigonos, to whom he had been reconciled. Aratus felt cold, and a slave covered him and Antigonos with the same garment — corresponding, therefore, to the double gall-bladder in a single bag. "Aratus," Plutarch adds, "remembered the omen, burst out laughing, and told the king about the sacrifice and the prophecy."

⁸¹ *Life of Pyrrhus*, § 30. Plutarch adds that Pyrrhus, disregarding or oblivious of the omen, sent his son Ptolemy into the battle, and the latter was killed.

than the liver is specified; and the practical synonymy of *ἥπαρ*, 'liver,' and *σπλάγχνα*, 'entrails,' follows also from a passage in Pausanias (vi. 2. 4), where he describes a dog, "cut in two, like a sacrificial victim, with his liver exposed," lying next to the statue of Thrasybulos, and immediately thereafter speaks of the rite of divination through the 'entrails' of dogs, which appears (he suggests) to have been established by Thrasybulos.

The conclusion, therefore, is justified in the case of the Greeks, as in that of the Romans, that divination through the sacrificial animal was at one time restricted to the use of the liver of the animal; and since we have no direct evidence that the Greeks inspected also the heart and lungs, the term 'sacred parts' may have been introduced to include the gall-bladder, the various lobes and ducts which might appropriately have been grouped together, as *ιερὰ* or *ιερεῖα*, while the vague term *σπλάγχνα* may also have been intended — at least originally — to embrace the same parts.

That there is some connection between Babylonian and Greek hepatoscopy is generally taken for granted by scholars, but it is still a question open to discussion whether the Greeks obtained their method directly from the Babylonians or through the mediation of the Etruscans. If, as seems probable, the Etruscans came from Asia Minor, they may well have left traces of their influence upon the Greek settlements near the coast, who in turn may have carried the rite across to Hellas. Clay models of livers, similar to the one above referred to,⁸² have been found recently at Boghaz-Keui,⁸³ — the ancient centre of a Hittite empire, — testifying to the existence of the rite of hepatoscopy at an early period in the very district from which the Etruscans may have come. We thus obtain an uninterrupted chain of Babylonian influence, embracing Etruscans, Greeks, and Romans, as well as Hittites. We have also the definite proof, furnished through the prevalence of hepatoscopy among all these groups, of the widespread character of the

⁸² Page 159. The University of Penn. Museum also has such a model.

⁸³ The Berlin Museum has three such clay models with Babylonian inscriptions in which the same technical terms occur as in the Babylonian 'liver' texts.

theory on which the rite rested, and through which it finds an explanation, to wit, the belief that the liver was the seat of the soul.⁸⁴

V

The transition to more rational views regarding the liver which followed in the wake of advancing anatomical knowledge is illustrated by the statement of Vitruvius (*De Architectura*, i. 18) that it was customary before settling in a region to examine the livers of animals in the district. If the livers were found diseased, it was an indication that the locality was unhealthful. We may be certain that originally the animal was slaughtered as an offering to secure the favor of the local deity, and that the liver was inspected for signs to ascertain whether the genius loci would look with favor upon the proposed settlement. The transformation of the old divination rite into a hygienic measure represents an attempt at a rationalistic interpretation, which is so frequently the last resort to justify a custom that has outlived itself. The statement of Vitruvius reminds one of the attempts to explain the food taboos in the Pentateuchal codes as hygienic measures. That some of these may be hygienic may be admitted, but we may be equally certain that their basis is not hygienic, and that they are survivals of primitive beliefs. In primitive religions precautions are prescribed to protect oneself from the saliva of an enemy or a sorcerer, for fear that it might be used as a spell. In order to protect people from germs of disease, modern boards of health also pass ordinances against spitting, but as a recent writer says, "The order of thinking in which the one fear finds a place is centuries apart from that of the other."⁸⁵ He might have said milleniums.

Old beliefs, like old rites, die hard, and both pass through

⁸⁴ It may be of interest to note the following instance of divination through the liver in our own country. Dr. Haddon informs me that when the colony of Igorrotes (of the Philippine Islands), who had been taken from place to place for exhibition purposes after the St. Louis Exposition, were informed that they would soon be sent back to their homes, they killed a pig and inspected the liver, in order to ascertain whether the day selected for the beginning of the homeward journey was an auspicious one. This inspection took place in Chicago in 1901.

⁸⁵ Joseph Jastrow in *Hampton's Magazine*, October, 1910, p. 418.

many transformations before they finally disappear. The thesis of Hippocrates above referred to,⁸⁶ that the liver was the seat of the blood, or, as he also puts it, the starting-point of the veins, is put forward as a scientific theory, but it would not have arisen had not the liver once been regarded as the seat of vitality. In so far, Hippocrates is still under the influence of primitive views, though he already foreshadows the new age in assigning disease to four sources: to the brain, to the heart, to the spleen, and to the liver, the most prominent place, however, being accorded to the liver.⁸⁷ Galen, four centuries after Hippocrates, betrays the same influence in making the liver the seat of the bodily heat, a view closely allied to that of making that organ the seat of the blood. Such survivals are the less surprising, if it be borne in mind that Galen still believed in dreams as well as in sorcery and charms. In fact, he tells us that he was prompted to the study of medicine through a dream that his father had. But perhaps the most interesting illustration of the hold which the old view regarding the liver as the seat of the soul continued to exercise, long after the absurdity of its rationale had been recognized, is furnished by Plato, who so often surprises us by his compromising endeavors to pour old wine into new bottles. He assigns to the heart and not to the liver the distinction of being the starting-point of the veins, and he recognizes the functions of the brain as well as those of the heart; but yielding to the temptation to find a justification for the prominence once accorded to the liver, he sets forth in the *Timæus*⁸⁸ the theory that man has two souls — an inferior or mortal soul, by the side of a superior and immortal soul that comes direct from the Creator. He places the seat of the lower functions, as eating, drinking, and the satisfaction of other bodily needs, between the midriff and the navel, “contriving,” to quote Jowett’s translation,⁸⁹ “in all this region a sort of manger for the food of the body; and there they (*i.e.* the gods) bound the desires down as a wild animal which was chained up with man, and must be nourished, if man was to exist.” In this inferior

⁸⁶ See above, p. 152.

⁸⁷ Andry, p. 237 f.

⁸⁸ *Tim.*, 69–72.

⁸⁹ *Dialogues of Plato*, 2. 562.

soul, however, God framed the liver to act as a kind of transmitter to the lower soul of that which originates in the mind. The liver reflects the thought "as in a mirror which receives and gives back images to the sight." Through the liver a means of divination is given to mankind, "for the authors of our being, remembering the command of their father when he bade them make the human race as good as they could, thus ordered our inferior parts in order that they too might obtain a measure of truth, and in the liver placed their oracle, which is sufficient proof that God has given the art of divination to the foolishness of man. . . . Such is the nature and position of the liver, which is intended to give prophetic intimations. During the life of each individual these intimations are plainer, but after his death the liver becomes blind, and delivers oracles too obscure to be intelligible."

Plato seems to be making a polemic against divination through the liver in the case of slaughtered animals (when the liver is 'blind'), but on the other hand he also appears to make a concession to the prevailing rites, by admitting that the liver is an organ of divination.

Jowett says of the *Timæus*⁹⁰ that of all the writings of Plato it is "the most obscure and repulsive to the modern reader," and scholars are not agreed exactly what position to accord to the *Timæus* in Plato's system of philosophy; but so much seems certain, that he endeavored in this treatise to give to ancient myths and popular beliefs and traditions a rational interpretation, though with doubtful success. The higher and better part of the mortal soul he places above the diaphragm, and assigns the seat of nobler emotions, as love and courage, to the heart; while the brain, the seat of the intellect, and exercising the highest functions, is the place of the immortal soul. The passions and all of the lower emotions, such as jealousy and cowardice, are thus made to originate in the liver as the centre of the inferior phase of the lower or mortal soul.

The interesting point for us in this intellectual gymnastics is the transition that it foreshadows to the views still popularly held.

⁹⁰ *Dialogues of Plato*, 2. 455.

Current usage, without attempting to justify its position on scientific grounds, still divides, as did Plato, the chief manifestations of human action among the three organs, the brain, the heart, and the liver, thought being associated with the brain, the higher emotions with the heart, and the lower ones with the liver — "Liver, brain, and heart, these sovereign thrones."⁹¹ Plato also foreshadows the very unfavorable view taken of the liver in popular fancy, justified only to a limited extent by physiological considerations. Ill-humor, bad temper, and moroseness, as well as all manner of disagreeable manifestations of a crabbed disposition, are popularly ascribed to the liver, though most persons who show these unpleasant traits have very healthy livers, and a disordered stomach or a bad headache is apt to produce the same effects on one's mood as a torpid liver. Nothing that can be said against the liver seems too bad, and the popular conception of it is well illustrated in an announcement of a London newspaper, that commends itself to the public by advertising that it is "all brain and heart, but no liver." One cannot help feeling a pang of sympathy for the liver, that to the ancients spelled life, and now is associated only with what is least commendable and desirable in life. To call a man 'white-livered' is among us a term of reproach, whereas in Babylonia it might have been the phrase to convey all that is implied in the colloquial expression, a 'white' man — pure, virtuous, of superior intellect — in short a noble and rare soul, as among the Arabs a white heart is a pure heart.⁹²

⁹¹ Twelfth Night, act I, scene 1. See also Cymbeline, act V, scene 1, "Liver, heart, and brain of Britain."

⁹² Andry, p. 5, gives an instance of the same usage among the Kafirs.

THE SIKH RELIGION

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EVERY attempt to describe or analyze any one of the many later varieties of Hindu religion meets with the same standard difficulty, namely, the difficulty of differentiating. From the time of the Upanishads on, India is axiomatically monistic or pantheistic. In Buddhism the All-Spirit has faded out into a blank, but we can tell the precise spot where once stood the conception of the True One that hath no Second, the Brahma. His mighty shadow hovers over Buddha's agnostic teaching.¹ It is even difficult to point out what Buddhism can accomplish that may not be equally well accomplished by Brahmanism (Vedānta) in its highest moods. All Hindu religion, at its best, is spiritual, is directed towards emancipating the individual ego from an illusory, negligible world. No higher Hindu religion is, or indeed can be, actuated by any communistic or national ideal, nor by any other ideal that we are accustomed to consider practical. The doctrines of the late sect of the Sikhs or 'Disciples' are no exception to the universal Hinduism of all native religious thought in India. It comes, therefore, as a surprise, when we read in a recent comprehensive work on this religion, that "it would be difficult to point to a religion of greater originality, or to a more comprehensive ethical system." Sikh religion is not original, but universally Hindu. Its ethics, like those of all higher Hindu religions, are incidental, because the supreme conception of Hinduism is really removed from quality, good, bad, or indifferent. At the best the new thing in Sikhism is, as we shall see, its shift of attitude, both positively and negatively, towards certain

¹ Cf. the story of Malukya or Malunkya-putta in *Majjhima-Nikāya*, 63.

of the ancient Hindu institutions, and the attunement, to some extent, of the universal Hindu gospel of resignation or despair to the most necessary requirements of national existence, at a time when national existence was in danger of being wiped out by Mohammedanism.

The work referred to is that of M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, six volumes, published by the Oxford (Clarendon) Press, in 1909. Mr. Macauliffe devoted twenty years of obviously loving study to his subject, part of the time while engaged in judicial duties in India, and part after resigning his post for the very purpose of carrying on his Sikh studies more undisturbedly. He spent many years among the Sikhs, and with them studied their sacred texts. His work consists in the main of the lives of the ten Gurus (Teachers or Pontiffs), beginning with Nanak and ending with Govind Singh, and a translation of their prayers, hymns, and acrostics, as contained in the *Granth Sahib* or 'Holy Bible.' To these are added the biographies of the so-called Bhagats (Sanskrit Bhagavat), or Hindu reformers before Nanak. The *Granth* is written not in one language, but in many: Old Hindi, Mahratthi, Panjabi, Multani, and to some extent even in Persian. Sound philological basis for the study of Sikhism is wanting, so long as there are no editions, by competent hands, at least of the texts of the *Ādi-Granth*, or 'Original Bible,' which was compiled by the fifth Guru, Arjan (1581-1616). Arjan gathered carefully the religious poems of his predecessors in the pontificate, adding to them a rich anthology from the sayings of the Bhagats,—men like Kabir, Namdev, Ravidas, and even the Persians, Farid and Bhikan. The *Granth* contains the wise sayings of fourteen of these Bhagats. Even a perfervid poem by a princess of the name of Mira Bai, full of mystic love (bhakti) of God in the form of Krishna, has found a place in the collection.

On the whole and in the main, Mr. Macauliffe's work impresses one as a reliable account of Sikhism as the Sikhs see it—that, but nothing more. The quasi-historical accounts of the Gurus are based upon zealot Sikh sources full of fond and unbridled fancies. By every token these lives of the Gurus are legendary, fantastic, and largely incredible. Also

as regards the interpretation of the poetry and religious thought of the Granth, I am sure that something will have to be deducted on account of the author's compulsory reliance on the old Gyanis, or professional interpreters, who are now dying out. The traditional translations (*sampardai arths*=Sanskrit *sampradāya-artha*) of the present day must have about the same value as the traditional interpretations of other ancient Hindu religious texts. Mr. Macauliffe remarks that he met so-called Gyanis who could perform *tours de force* with their sacred writings, and give different interpretations of almost every line of it. As regards his own renderings, he remarks, that "when second and third interpretations seemed possible, they have been appended in the notes." Decidedly this reminds us of the Sāyaṇas, MādHAVAS, and their ilk. Sikh philology of the remoter future will gratefully remember Mr. Macauliffe's work, but it will remember it as a great work of orientation rather than a critical analysis of Sikh teachings or an unprejudiced history of the development of the Sikh nation.

Sikhism arose in the north of India during the period of its greatest oppression by the Mohammedan (Mogul) conquerors. Nanak, the first Sikh prophet, seems to have been imprisoned and made to work as a slave by Emperor Babar. He speaks of his times as follows:

This age is a knife, kings are butchers; justice hath taken wings and fled.

The fifth Guru, Arjan, was tortured to death by Emperor Jahangir partly on account of his religion, and partly because he had extended hospitality to Jahangir's rebellious son Khusrau. In his defence the Guru said: "I regard all people, whether rich or poor, friend or foe, without love or hate; and it is on this account that I gave thy son some money for his journey, and not because he was in opposition to thee. If I had not assisted him in his forlorn condition, and so shown some regard for the kindness of thy father, the Emperor Akbar, to myself, all men would despise me for my heartlessness and ingratitude, or would say that I was afraid of thee. This would have been unworthy of a follower of Guru Nanak, the world's Guru."

The bloody Emperor Aurangzeb slew his own brother Darah Shukoh, that enlightened prince to whom we owe the Persian translation of the Hindu Upanishads, the so-called Oupnekhsats. He also caused the death of the ninth Guru, Teg Bahadur, persecuted the tenth and last Guru, Govind Singh, and brought about the death of his four sons. Then ended the spiritual dynasty of the Gurus.

Nanak, the originator and first Guru of Sikhism, was born A.D. 1469. At that time about one-third of the population of Northern India had become Moslem. Mohammedan monotheism, through its abhorrence of idol-worship, had shaken the complicated and abased forms of lower Hinduism; had attracted the lower classes of the population, who could, through it, free themselves from the oppression and degradation of caste; and had introduced into the pantheistic ideal of higher Hinduism a strong dash of monotheism, which promoted its own marked inclination in the same direction. In practice, however, both Hinduism and Mohammedanism were effete religions, despised by many religious thinkers who preceded Nanak. One of the hymns of the Bhagat Kabir (born A.D. 1398) satirizes Hindu practices:

If union with God be obtained by going about naked,
All the beasts of the forest shall be saved.
What mattereth it whether man goeth naked or weareth a deerskin,
If he recognize God in his heart?
If perfection be obtained by shaving the head,
Why should not sheep obtain salvation?
If, O brethren, the continent man is saved,
Why should not a eunuch obtain the supreme reward?¹

Or Nanak used to say: 'If God is a stone, I will worship a mountain.' He refers to the myriad stone images of Hindu idolatry. Namdev (born A.D. 1270) preached impressively against stone idols.

No better than the formalism of Hindu sectarian religion comes off worldly, unspiritual Moslemism. Nanak says:

The Qazi sitteth to administer justice;
He turneth over his beads and invoketh God.
But he taketh bribes and doeth injustice.
If called to account he will read and cite texts.

¹ Cf. Böttlingk, *Indische Sprüche*, 4376, 4873.

Even-handed justice is dealt out to both religions. Just as their formalism, superstition, or corruption is derided and execrated, so the essential truth in both is the same. Saith the Granth :

Some men are Hindus and some are Mussulmans; . . . the Creator and the Beneficent are the same; . . . the Temple and the Mosque are the same; . . . Allah and Alakh (Sanskrit Alakṣa, 'Without Attribute') are the same; the Purans and the Quran are the same; they are all alike, it is One God who created all.

The thousands of Purans and Mohammedan books tell that in reality there is but one principle.

To one who is acquainted with India's religious past, the conditions under which operated the thought of Nanak's time are very transparent. Many centuries before Nanak the Upanishads had made nought of all religious works and forms, not expressly, but by a kind of implication which lost no eloquence through its silence. In the place of all practice it had put the One True Being, of which every living thing is a part, and salvation from the round of existence (samsāra, transmigration) through fusion with the One. As time went by, this monism was touched up monotheistically; ever since the day of Yājñavalkya and his wife Maitreyī transcendental theoretic monism keeps shaping itself over in practice into mystic longing of the creature to become fused with the One. This is bhakti, 'love of God,' found with every Brahmanical sect and every Brahmanical philosophy. It is the eclectic philosophical theosophy of the Bhagavatgīta, the 'Song of the Exalted One,' the type of belief which had become common property in Nanak's time: a Creator has created the world and its beings through a kind of "fake" process. Most of it is māyā, 'illusion.' The world and its beings are not of him; they are aside from him. Only one thing is excepted, namely, the soul of man. That soul is, in reality, the soul of the Creator;² fervid devotion to the Creator finally results in fusion with him, which is salvation.

² So the Bhagat Ravidas :

Between Thee and me, between me and Thee, what difference can there be?
The same as between gold and the bracelet, between water and its ripples.

Such, then, is the very unoriginal theosophic basis of Sikhism. It is an ideal which wavers between chilly, abstract monistic pantheism, on the one hand; and perfervid anthropomorphic theism, in the manner of the Christian Mystics, on the other hand. I can easily gather from Nanak's hymns support for both ends of this line. At one time he says: "The imperceptible God was Himself the speaker and preacher; Himself unseen, He was Everything." At another time he insists that God is a Being who must be longed for as a bride longs for the bridegroom, or, must be approached and loved as a fond and faithful wife loves her spouse.

Like every other Hindu sect, the Sikhs believed in transmigration. Escape from its toils can be accomplished only by fusion with Akal Purukh (Sanskrit Akāla Puruṣa), the 'Timeless Spirit.' Paradise or heaven (Sach Khand) is but a temporary reward; it does not make immune to transmigration, suffering, fear, and the long train of life's evils. "What is hell and what heaven, the wretched places?" exclaims Kabir, one of Nanak's predecessors; "the saints have rejected them both. God and Kabir have become one; no one can distinguish between them." And Nanak says (i. 159):

The Guru's word is speech of nectar; by drinking it man becometh acceptable.

When man performeth service at God's gate to obtain a sight of Him, what careth he for paradise?

The names or designations of the Creator, or the fundamental power, vary between ancient personal designations borrowed from the sectarian Pantheon, and ancient philosophical abstractions. God is spoken of plainly as Krishna Govind, Rāma, Brahma, and, above all, Hari. This is one mood. On the other hand, he is Paramesur (Parameṣvara), 'Supreme Lord'; Sunn (Çūnya), 'The Solitary'; Alakh (Alakṣa), 'Without Quality'; Akal (Akāla), 'Timeless';

Cf. Angelus Silesius (cited in my Religion of the Veda, p. 275, note):—

Ich bin so gross wie Gott,
Er ist wie ich so klein;
Ich kann nicht unter ihm,
Er über mir nicht sein.

Akshar (Aksara), 'Imperishable'; Purukh (Puruṣa), 'World-Man,' or 'World-Soul'; very frequently combined, Akāl Purukh, 'Timeless Soul.' But the favorite and most ecstatic Sikh expression for the Divine is simply 'Name.' It is employed almost cabalistically. At the head of Nanak's hymns stand the words Sat Nam, "True Name." The Guru was asked why this was so. He replied: "The Name is the God of all Gods. Some propitiate Durga, some Shiv, some Ganesh, and some other Gods; but the Guru's Sikhs worship the True Name and thus remove all obstacles to salvation." We are reminded on the one hand of the 'name of Allah'; on the other, of 'thousand-named' Vishnu: likely enough this feature reflects Mohammedan influence (cf. Amos vi. 10).

In the pure Hindu philosophies and in Buddhism man's destiny is governed by karma, 'deed.' The key-note is struck at a very early time. So the 'Great Forest-Upanishad' (4. 4. 3), one of the earliest theosophic tracts of India: "Man is altogether desire (kāma); as is his desire so is his insight (kratu); as is his insight so is his deed (karma); as is his deed so is his destiny." Man's acts attach themselves to the soul and determine its next abode in the course of its migrations. So also Nanak:

Impute not blame to any one, but rather to thine own karma.

I have suffered the consequences of my acts; I may blame no one else.

In the Sikh writings the karma is generally construed as sinister, as 'evil deed,' manmukh karm (Sanskrit manomuṣa karma). This comprises the ordinary human sins. The karma that elevates character and insures rebirth as a higher being, even a god, is rather ignored. In common use karma gets to mean sin committed in a previous existence — that and nothing more.

Another, less ancient idea, which at a comparatively early time entangles the Hindu mind in a paradox, takes the place of the more philosophical karma. It is the idea of fate or decree (Sanskrit daivam).³ So the distinguished

³ See Professor Winternitz's interesting paper, 'Das Schicksal im Glauben und Denken der Inder,' *Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 3d and 5th, 1902.

Sanskrit poet Bhartṛhari, in his famous Centuries of Lyric Stanzas : ⁴

The wise Creator wrote upon thy brow,
When thou wast born what wealth should once be thine;
The sum was great perhaps or small; yet now
Thy fate is fixed, and sure the law divine.

For if thou dwell within the desert's rim,
Thou shalt have nothing less than is his will;
Nor will there more apportioned be to him
That hastes to Meru's gold-abounding hill.

In the same spirit says Nanak :

The die is cast, no one can undo it.
What know I of the future's happening?
Whate'er pleases Him, that hath occurred;
No one but Him doth act.

Ravidas boldly denies free will :

Were I not to sin, O Timeless Spirit !
How could thy name be Purifier of Sinners ?

In practice the Sikhs throughout their secular history are quite as fatalistic as the Mohammedans, and up to a certain point their fatalism contributed to their political success.

Here, again, there is no new doctrine, and nothing that the rest of the Hindu people of the time disavowed or hesitated to apply when they were so minded. If, after all this, it is plainly impossible to find anything that is at the same time important and new in Sikh theology, we may inquire whether the renovating factor of Sikhism is contained in its institutions, rather than in its spiritual doctrines. For, after all, Sikhism was a new religion, which offered real shelter to many, and in time fitted its adherents to become successful opponents of the followers of Islam in the North of India.

Nearly two thousand years before Nanak's time, Buddhism had negated and abolished caste through the inherent quality of its teaching. But Buddhism had passed out of the peninsula of India, and caste controlled non-Islamic India. In the light of the monistic high thought of India,

⁴ See Ryder, *Woman's Eyes*, p. 24.

which postulates the identity of all men's souls with the One, caste has always been a perplexing paradox as well as a corrosive institution. Rāmakrishna, the modern saint, or Paramahansa, knows this, and is willing to share a bone with a dog, his brother.⁴ But, of course, as a good Hindu, he recognizes that this is only for the Emancipate; in ordinary life he admits the need of caste.⁵ There is a great difference between occasional academic protest, and the express, sincere invective against caste in the Sikhs' Gurus' utterances. In that Mohammedan time, in that Moslemic country, the disavowal of caste was the irreducible minimum of concession which a new Hindu religion must make before it could hope to succeed. With the Gurus' revived and intensified sense that all men depend upon the 'Name,' and are alike an efflux from the 'Timeless Spirit,' the woodenness and cruelty of caste, as practised by the Hindu sects, became a conviction, sincere, fiery, polemical; at the same time it enabled the Sikhs to compete successfully with Mohammedanism. The Gurus attacked the caste system and, at the same time, other Hindu notions of impurity in many necessary and harmless acts of ordinary life:

Castes are folly, names are folly;
All creatures have one shelter (God).

Thus Nanak states in simplest words the most immediate consequence of his knowledge of the Divine. Before Nanak, the Bhagats Ramanand, Kabir, Namdev, and Ravidas had all arrived at the same conclusion.

In various other ways also Sikhism pointed the way to freedom from galling, cruel Hindu practice and superstition, and to saner and cleaner life. The Gurus forbid idolatry, widow-burning, infanticide, pilgrimages to the sacred rivers and tanks; they preach philanthropy, justice, truth, and domestic virtue. Indeed, the theory of their religion is well-nigh a counsel of perfection. And yet it is doubtful whether all this accounts for the rapid spread of the teachings of the Gurus and their development into a religious system which

⁴ Rāmakrishna, *His Life and Sayings* (edited by Max Müller), p. 122.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 146, 147.

in its final form marks off the Sikhs from the rest of the Hindu world, not only as a religious body, but as a people of singular character and individuality. Into the making of Sikhism another ancient Hindu institution has entered as a very important factor : perhaps we may say the prime factor.

The name Sikh (Sanskrit *śiṣya*) means 'disciple'; the name Guru, 'teacher.' The Sikh texts, as a rule, speak of the Gurus and their Sikhs, that is, the 'Teachers and their Disciples'; or, even more compactly, of the Gurus' Sikhs, the 'Teachers' Disciples.' The relation of teacher and pupil in India has always been pious, sentimental, and sacramental. The so-called 'House-Books' (*Grhya-sūtras*) show that the initiation (*upanayana*) of an Aryan Brahmanical boy was an affair of very considerable solemnity.⁷ Teacher and pupil stand in front of the sacred fire. The pupil begins, "I have come to study; receive me, let me be thy pupil, incited thereunto by God Savitar" (the god who incites to piety). The teacher replies, "Who art thou, what is thy name?" "My name is Devadatta." The teacher then says, "May I, O God Savitar, fulfil my purpose with this boy Devadatta." Like an apprentice in the time of the guilds the boy lives with his teacher, serves, and obeys him. Mornings and evenings he gathers wood for his fire, and begs alms for him, beginning his begging tour with his own mother. When the teacher addresses the pupil while the latter is seated, he must rise before he makes answer; if the pupil is on his feet, he must run up to the teacher and answer.

Beyond this external formalism a tenderer bond unites the two. In the course of the initiation the teacher touches the heart of the boy and pronounces these solemn words, "Thy heart shall dwell in my heart; thy spirit shall follow my spirit; with willing ears hear my words." After a long term of study the young man graduates, with various solemnities, which include a sacramental bath. Then he goes by the name of *Snātaka*, 'Bathed.' In the *Taittiriya-Upanishad* the *Snātaka* is bidden to speak the truth always; to cultivate the study of the Veda; to perform his duties as a householder; and to honor parents and teacher like unto gods.

⁷ See Hillebrandt, *Alt-Indien*, pp. 100 ff.

The teacher remains a sacred person; he is the typical "Reverend," and, even more than parents, the pivot around which turn all lessons that inculcate reverence. The ancient Law-Book of Āpastamba (1. 1. 13) has it: "He from whom the pupil gathers (ācinoti) the knowledge of his duties is called teacher (ācārya). Him he must never offend. For he causes his pupil to be born a second time by imparting to him the sacred knowledge. Father and mother produce the body only." The association of the idea of spiritual fatherhood remains a permanent factor of Hindu thought and sentiment. The name 'Twice-born,' that is, 'Regenerate,' belongs to high-caste Brahmanical Hindus precisely because they are in duty bound to get from a teacher their new birth through knowledge of sacred things. The relation of teacher and pupil is not weakened by time, nor cloyed by familiarity; the responsibility of the pupil towards the teacher holds through life. "He who, though able, does not support his mother, his aged father, his true wife, his not grown-up child, his Brahman Teacher, and any one that comes to him for protection, dead is he, even though he breathe." So says the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (10. 45. 7). With the systematic rigor of a sort of proverb, the Mahābhārata fixes the position of the Teacher among the five very most important persons and things in all the world: "Five sacred (fires) must be tended with unremitting care: father, mother, the (actual sacred) fire, one's own self, and one's teacher" (Mahābh. 5. 33. 74).

It is easy to see that the word "teacher," instead of implying merely a person who imparts, for a consideration, more or less useful knowledge, has assumed the high value of spiritual guide and superior. In its final outcome, in the view of Hindus who are interested in the burning question of their ultimate destiny, who crave the unique salvation which is fusion with the Absolute One, the Guru is the John the Baptist who heralds the great event, and the guide who points the way to that great event. "As when going to a strange country, one must abide by the directions of him who knows the way, while taking the advice of many may lead to confusion, so in trying to reach God one should follow the single Guru who knows the way to God." So saith the modern

saint and ascetic, the Paramahansa Rāmakrishṇa, and he continues :

The Guru is a mediator. He brings man and God together.

The note, too, of papal infallibility is struck exigently :

The disciple should never criticise his own Guru. He must implicitly obey whatever his Guru says.

As a Bengali proverb has it,

Though my Guru may visit tavern and still,
My Guru is holy Rai Nityananda still.⁸

After all this, it is hardly necessary to say that Brahmanical literature in endless iteration condemns violence to teachers as one of the deadly sins. In the history of ethics the Hindu conception of the relation of Teacher and Disciple stands out as one of the most perfect and sensitive conceptions, removed alike from selfishness and loosely attached altruism, and is entirely fit to be regarded as the final test of Hindu ethical feeling and practice.

It seems to me that the most distinctive feature in Sikhism is the development of this time-honored relation between individual teacher and individual pupil into an ecclesiastico-political force, which finally led up to a sort of church-state, and a sort of nation. It is easy to see how a single teacher of very holy repute might gather about him many pupils who would feel and show such veneration as is implanted in every Hindu by his own intrinsic spirituality and by immemorial tradition. Pupils in larger mass might shower presents upon the teacher, put into his hands the means for luxurious and courtly living, surround his person with watchful care against envious detractors and personal enemies, and finally, as it were, press upon him a pontificate not at all wanting in temporal or secular advantages. This is precisely what happened in Sikhism.

The legends of the Gurus are still to be sifted for the perhaps not too numerous grains of real history which they without doubt contain. One thing is quite certain, namely, that

⁸ See Rāmakrishṇa, pp. 132, 133.

the early Gurus were simple, modest men without any personal aspirations. Nanak, the first Guru, was a travelling fakir; he was not a priest either by birth or education. His sole claim to notice and distinction was that he was possessed of a high grade of deistic emotionalism. The unity of God and the need of righteousness were the two unoriginal and not altogether consanguineous propositions which he had to offer his followers. He travelled from place to place and chanted his hymns of praise to the lute of a player, by the name of Mardānā, who accompanied him in his travels. He was one of those gentle, pitiful, messianic Hindu teachers, anxious to steer suffering and superstitious humanity across the ocean of individual, divided existence to the haven of union with the One. Yājñavalkya and Buddha are his ancient prototypes; the Bhagats that preceded him, his direct teachers. Nevertheless the note of Guruship as well as that of apostolic succession is struck in the legend of Nanak. He exacted obedience from his adherents. He passed his pontificate over the heads of his own unsteady and disobedient sons to a disciple whom he had put through the severest tests of obedience. The story has it that he made Angad, his successor, eat of a corpse and do other repulsive things in order to see how stout was Angad's faith in Nanak's Guruship. When Nanak's end approached, he placed the umbrella of spiritual sovereignty over Angad's head and bowed to him as the future Guru. In his last moments Nanak drew a sheet over himself and blended his light with Guru Angad. The Guru remained the same. Hereafter all Gurus are Nanak — a sort of composite photography. And it is curious to observe that Nanak is in ecstatic moments really identified with the Timeless Spirit — an extreme but not unlogical conclusion.

The second and third Gurus, Angad and Amardās, continued the pontificate as humble teachers, obscure heads of one of the sects that kept springing up mushroom-like in those days among the Hindus, as a rule to be lost in some new form of religious emotionalism. But the fourth Guru began to accumulate wealth and exhibit power. The gifts of the Disciples flowed so freely that he was able to start building the gorgeous temple of Hari (Hari-mandar), in the middle of

the lake called 'Nectar-Lake,' or Amritsar, and so lay the foundation of this most famous sanctuary, which became in due time the Mekka of Sikh religion and nationality. His work was completed by the fifth Guru, Arjan.

This last-mentioned pontiff compiled the *Adi Granth*, to which he himself contributed a large part, thus furnishing the Disciples with a bible, and the world with one of its most noteworthy theistic documents. Next to Nanak, Arjan was the most spiritual of the Sikh pontiffs. But Arjan was economist and statesman as well as shepherd and churchman. He instituted most significant economic and secular reforms. He substituted for the free gifts of the Disciples definite taxation, and in his last will and testament ordered his son and successor in the Guruship to sit fully armed on his throne, and to maintain an army. Arjan died a cruel death, presumably through the machinations of a personal enemy by the name of Chandu, minister of finance at Delhi, whose daughter he did not think good enough to accept in marriage for his son, Har Govind. Furthermore, as stated above (p. 171), he had exposed himself to Emperor Jahangir's wrath by giving aid and comfort to his fugitive, rebellious son, Khusrau. That the Sikh Guru and his numerous devoted adherents had by that time become an important political factor in the Mogul empire, and that the Guru pontificate had become an object of suspicion to the Mogul emperors, the story shows very clearly.

The sixth Guru, Har Govind, followed the political intentions and the expressed wishes of his father and predecessor. The old simple insignia of Guruship were the *seli*, a woollen cord worn as a necklace, and the turban. These Har Govind exchanged for something much more regal: "My *seli* shall be a sword-belt, and I shall wear my turban with a royal aigrette," he exclaimed to his old adviser Bhai Budha. He also carried two swords as emblems of both spiritual and temporal authority. He celebrated his accession by a large banquet given to his Sikhs. He issued an encyclical letter to the tax collectors (*masands*) in which he said, significantly, that he should be pleased with those who brought arms and horses instead of money. He built a magnificent throne-house of solid stone masonry, the so-

called Akal Bunga, and took his seat in it. He enrolled as his bodyguard fifty-two heroes, to which were added five hundred youths, to each of whom he gave a horse and arms. This force he organized under centurion captains of a hundred horse each. To while away his time, he devoted himself to the chase.

Chandu, the traducer of his father, became very uneasy at this exhibition of power. Again he offered his daughter to Har Govind in marriage, but Har Govind refused, saying: "The torture that thou didst inflict on such a peaceful and philanthropic Guru as my father must bring its vengeance in time. Thou shalt die trodden in the dust, and dishonored by shoe-beatings inflicted by Pariahs." Chandu then renewed his machinations against the Sikhs, and managed to have Har Govind cited to the dangerous presence of Emperor Jahangir at Delhi. But Sikh influence had by that time grown strong at court, and Har Govind's personality was very attractive. After some danger and vicissitudes the tables turned themselves on Chandu, so that he was delivered into the power of Har Govind. Between the lines of the Sikh legend we can read that the Guru wreaked terrible vengeance on Chandu. He committed him to the care of two faithful Sikhs who "took off his turban, tied his hands behind his back, and showered blows of slippers on his devoted head. While being thus castigated, he was led through the streets of the city, a warning to all men." Chandu's wife and son were also surrendered to the Guru, who punished them by showing them Chandu "made over to Pariahs as if he were a dog." Dirt and filth continued to be poured on him, and he was reduced to a condition in which no one could recognize him. After showing them that, he let them go. Naïvely, the legend says, "everybody congratulated the Guru on the mercy he had shown them." The Guru afterwards took Chandu to Lahore, the scene of his father's death. Here he was delivered over to scavengers, who led him round the streets to beg. "He who used to take bribes of thousands of rupees was now glad to get kauris and the leavings of others for his support. For a sacrificial mark on his forehead he had now the marks of shoe-beatings, and for necklaces of pearls and diamonds he had old slippers suspended from his

neck." After fifteen days of this treatment in Lahore, death at the hand of one of the Guru's enraged Sikhs came to his relief; scavengers threw his body into the river Ravi. But the Guru prayed, characteristically, that as Chandu had suffered torment for his sins in this life, God would pardon him hereafter.

The Sikh legend does not cover up the fact that Har Govind had become a powerful, power-craving, ostentatious, pleasure-loving potentate who was rather given to larding his worldly acts with the pious sayings of his more spiritual predecessors. His love for the chase was so great as to involve him in war with the next Grand Mogul, Shah Jehan. A white hawk of the Emperor, which had been presented to him by the King of Iran, had made its way into the Guru's hunting camp, and his huntsmen refused to return it to the Emperor. This brought about a war which ended, so the Sikh story goes, in a bloody but glorious victory of the Sikhs over the Mohammedans near Amritsar in 1628. There is no reason to doubt that the Sikhs had become by that time a nation within a nation, or a landless empire within an empire.

Bhai Gur Das, a contemporary of the fourth, fifth, and sixth Gurus, composed an analysis of the tenets of the Sikh religion in which, of course, much emphasis is given to the functions of the Guru and the true relation between the Guru and his Sikhs:

By the Guru's hymns the mind is satisfied, and man reaches his own home.

By the Guru's instruction the four castes were blended into one society of saints.

The true Guru, the real king, putteth the holy on the high road to salvation. He restraineth the deadly sins, evil inclinations, and worldly love. By the spell of the Name he hath inculcated love, devotion, charity. As the lotus remaineth dry in the water, so doth the Guru keep the holy man unaffected by the world.

He who seeks not the Guru is blind, even though he have eyes. He who listeneth not to the Guru's words is deaf, even though he have ears. He who singeth not the Guru's hymns is dumb, even though he have a tongue. Even though he who smelleth not the perfume of the Guru's feet have a nose, it is as if it were cut off. He who doeth not the Guru's work, even though he have hands, is without them, and walleth in sorrow. He in whose heart the Guru's instruction abideth not, is without understanding, and obtaineth not entrance into God's court.

I believe that the preceding exposition has laid bare the mainspring of Sikhism, so that no one need fail to see it. Let me point out once more that on the side of doctrine or philosophy Sikhism contains absolutely nothing new, nothing that is not to be found elsewhere, in some place, at some time, in India. As regards institutions and minor folk beliefs, Guru Arjan claims that,

The egg of superstition hath burst; the mind is illumined,
The Guru hath cut the fetters off the feet and freed the captive.

We have seen that such is the case as regards many pernicious Hindu institutions, but there can be no doubt that this result was quickly overtaken by a new growth of somewhat dubious quality, such as fatalism, brigandage, and exceeding worldliness, thinly veiled by pious wordiness. The truly potent element in Sikhism is euhemeristic. Some years ago I pointed out, not at all originally, that "the impressive object-lesson of superiority, physical or spiritual, may make a god of a tribal chief, a Roman emperor, or a Hindu ascetic."⁹ We know that there are in India to this day leading preachers of the Brahma, so holy, so sanctifying in character and example, that their canonization by popular consent as Paramahansas, 'Supreme Spirits,' comes dangerously near to identifying them with the Divinity. This is, when we ponder it, exactly on all fours with the monistic Brahma. The truly new thing in Sikhism is the surcharging of this euhemerism with temporal, practical, and finally political factors. For once, under the stress of the irksome Mohammedan environment, the Hindus were led to recoin the ancient institution of spiritual Guruship into militant leadership — a thing not dreamt of before in India. This enabled them to gain a new station in the despised world, after their former station had become, paradoxically speaking, so despicable that they could no longer endure it. Sikhism reformed stridently and effectively some of the blatant abuses of Hindu religious practice, yet remained at the core an essentially Hindu religion. The really new idea was the fighting, euhemeristically deified Guru and his fighting Sikhs. But for the Sikhs,

⁹ See my article, 'The Symbolic Gods,' in *Studies in Honor of B. L. Gildersleeve*, p. 38.

all or most of India might have been Mohammedanized ; or, at least, Mohammedan failure in this respect is probably due in a considerable measure to Sikh resistance. In this way this errant child of Hinduism has contributed largely to the preservation of Hinduism. It would seem as if — that service done — the jaded child were at last returning to the bosom of its aged but not yet altogether decrepit mother. The Sikhs are now reverting, to some extent, to Hinduism, and are again worshipping Hindu gods in Hindu temples.

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YAHWEH BEFORE MOSES

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THERE is no more fascinating problem in the whole field of the history of religion than the origin and development of the worship of Yahweh. Within the last few years new facts concerning it have been brought to light, and various and somewhat conflicting theories have arisen to explain them. It is the purpose of the present paper to examine, sift, and coördinate the most important of these facts and theories.

We may begin with a reference to the theory that Yahweh was of Kenite origin, though this view has been discussed so often of recent years that it is unnecessary to enter fully into it here. It was first suggested by Ghillany¹ in 1862, was supported by Tiele,² strongly urged by Stade,³ more fully worked out by Budde,⁴ and has been accepted by Guthe,⁵ H. P. Smith,⁶ Wildeboer,⁷ Cheyne,⁸ Paton,⁹ and Burney.¹⁰ The present writer has twice expressed his adhesion to it,¹¹ and Addis accepts it as a possibility.¹² The reasons for accepting it have been succinctly stated by Budde, Paton, and the writer, and need not be repeated here. They follow from the prevailing Pentateuchal documentary theory,

¹ *Theologische Briefe an die Gebildeten der deutschen Nation*, 1. 216, 408.

² *Vergelijkende Geschiedenis van de Egyptische en Mesopotamische Godsdiensten*, p. 559.

³ *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1. 130 f.; *Biblische Theologie*, pp. 42 f.

⁴ *Religion of Israel to the Exile*, chapter i.

⁵ *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, pp. 21, 29. ⁶ *Old Testament History*, p. 57.

⁷ *Jahvedienst en Volksreligie in Israel*, pp. 15 f.

⁸ *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 3208.

⁹ *Biblical World*, 28. 116 f.

¹⁰ *Journal of Theological Studies*, 9. 337 ff.

¹¹ *Semitic Origins*, pp. 272 f., 275 f., and *Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible in One Volume*, p. 410.

¹² *Hebrew Religion to the Establishment of Judaism under Ezra*, p. 70.

so that from the Biblical evidence as thus understood this formerly seemed the only natural hypothesis.

Several new theories have, however, been urged in recent years, two of which are based on facts outside the Old Testament. These have been thought to challenge or overthrow the Kenite hypothesis. If they really do so, that theory should be reëxamined or discarded.

The first of these theories is based upon the belief that the name Yahweh has been found on Babylonian tablets of the time of Hammurabi or earlier. The occurrence of such names was first announced by Professor Sayce,¹³ but the announcement did not attract attention until Professor Delitzsch delivered the famous lecture which started the 'Babel und Bibel' controversy.¹⁴ He brought into prominence two names, Yawa-ilu¹⁵ and Yaum-ilu,¹⁶ claiming the first to be equal to Yahweh-el and the second to Joel. Many scholars accepted the latter name as probably representing Yahweh,¹⁷ but the first one was doubted, not only because the sign read *wa* might be read *pi*, but because in the hundreds of names in the Old Testament in which Yahweh is the first element, this element is always contracted to Yo or Y'ho.¹⁸ More recently it has been thought to be proved that Delitzsch misread the name Yawa-ilu and that it should be read Yapi-ilu.¹⁹ This view is based on the discovery of a name Ya-pa-ilu in a tablet of the same period.²⁰ It is not, however, quite certain that this disproves the presence of the divine name Yahweh, for Johns has pointed out that if we take Iabe,²¹ the pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton to which Theodoret testifies, as a starting point, the Babylonian divine name Ib may come into comparison.

¹³ Expository Times, 9. 522. Cf. Hommel, *ibid.* 10. 42.

¹⁴ See his Babel and Bible, translated by Johns, pp. 70 ff.

¹⁵ Spelled Ya-a-wa-ilu, in Cuneiform Texts, 8. 20. 3a, and Ya-wa-ilu, *ibid.* 34. 4a. In each case the sign read *wa* might be read *pi*, making Yapi-ilu.

¹⁶ See Cuneiform Texts, 4. 27. 3a. The *m* is apparently the well-known mimmat-ion.

¹⁷ So, for example, A. T. Clay, Light on the Bible from Babel, pp. 236 f., and Rogers, Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, pp. 92 ff.

¹⁸ See Clay, *op. cit.*, pp. 236 and 239.

¹⁹ So Clay, Amurru, p. 207.

²⁰ See Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler, 8. no. 16. 39.

²¹ Iabé was really pronounced Yahwe. This does not affect the fact that *b*, *p*, and *m* all may represent in Babylonian the Hebrew *waw*.

One individual at Dilbat was named *ilu-Ib-ilu-Iau*, i.e. 'the god Ib is my god Yau.'²² The god Ib was then identified with Yau, who was perhaps Yahu or Yahweh. It has been demonstrated that in Babylonian *p*, *b*, and *m* all interchanged with *waw*.²³ If Iaba was, as Johns suggests, one of the Babylonian ways of expressing Yahweh, this may also have been expressed in Babylonian writing by Yapa. In that case the name of Yapa-ilu referred to above, so far from disproving Professor Delitzsch's contention that Yawa-ilu or Yapi-ilu contains the divine name Yahweh as its first element, would actually confirm it.

It must be confessed, however, that this identity is very uncertain. While it may be that all three forms Yawa, Yaba, and Yapa represent an original Yahweh,²⁴ that it really was so is not yet proven.

When Yahweh as the first element of a personal name was written in cuneiform in the Persian period, it was sometimes written 'Ya-,' sometimes 'Yau-,' and sometimes 'Yahu.'²⁵ If we may reason that the same varieties of phonetic expression existed in the time of the first dynasty of Babylon, we should find the name Yahweh as the first element in the names *Yahi-ilu*²⁶ and *Yauhi-ilu*²⁷ which occur in texts from Dilbat. This would add another group of occurrences of this name in Babylonian texts of this period and also another to the forms under which it appears.

The fact that in tablets of the Kassite period the name *Yau-bani*²⁸ occurs, has been urged as a reason for supposing that these forms, or at least some of them, represent the

²² Cambridge Biblical Essays, p. 49.

²³ E.g., Hebrew לָוָה is turned into Assyrio-Babylonian as *lamú*, *labú*, and *lapú* (Talm. לָוָה, Syriac *l'wá*, Arabic *lawá*; in Ethiopic the form in the simple stem has become *lawawa*, but in the reflexive *talawewa* the original form of the root appears). Cf. Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, pp. 368, 379, and Brockelmann, *Vergleichende Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, pp. 139, 140.

²⁴ Daiches, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 22. 126, declares that the Tetragrammaton is never found in the cuneiform.

²⁵ See Clay, *Light on the Old Testament from Babel*, pp. 236 ff., and *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, 9. no. 25. l. 19; no. 28. l. 15; no. 45. l. 1; no. 55. lines 1, 14; 10. no. 77. l. 3.

²⁶ *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, 7. no. 5. 27.

²⁷ *Ibid.* no. 8. 3, 5, 8; no. 9. 39.

²⁸ Cf. *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, 15. no. 184. l. 7; no. 200. col. i. l. 37; col. ii. lines 16, 25.

divine name Yahweh. This name (Yau-bani) is parallel to Bel-bani, in which 'Bel' is certainly a divine element. The natural inference is therefore that Yau represents a divine name. If such a god was known in Babylonia in the Kassite period, this would strengthen the presumption that the names which we have passed in review from the time of Hammurabi's dynasty contain it also.

It has been contended that the name Yahweh as an element in a proper name occurs in Babylonia still earlier. In a text published by Thureau-Dangin, a granddaughter of the king Naram-Sin bears a name which may be read Lipush-Iaum,²⁹ 'May Iaum make.' Radau,³⁰ Burney,³¹ and Clay³² all regard this as an occurrence of Yahweh. Rogers³³ with more caution holds that it is doubtful, and that possibly Ea is referred to. It would certainly be rash to assert that this name is proof that Yahweh as a divine name was known among the immediate descendants of Naram-Sin, but it is clearly possible that such may be the case. As Zimmern has noted (*Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, p. 468, ed. 3), these names in which Yahweh appears to occur in Babylonia are all borne by foreigners. In reality we cannot be sure that these Babylonian names refer to a god at all until we find such names as Arad-Ya, Arad-Yau, Arad-Yama, Arad-Yaba, Arad-Yapa, in which the last element is preceded by the determinative for god.³⁴ In the absence of decisive evidence, however, a presumption that they contain a divine name has been established, and some probability that that divine element is identical with the divine name which we know as Yahweh.

In addition to these Babylonian occurrences, it is thought that the name Yahweh occurs in the name Akhi-yami, which is, as the Murashu texts show, the Babylonian way of writing Ahijah. The name occurs on a tablet found at

²⁹ See the *Comptes Rendus* of the Paris Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, 1899, p. 348, pl. 1. The reading *Iaum* is not altogether certain. *I* is expressed by an unusual sign.

³⁰ *Early Babylonian History*, p. 173.

³¹ *Journal of Theological Studies*, 9. 342.

³² *Amurru*, p. 90.

³³ *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 94, n. 1.

³⁴ Such names as Arad-ya-um (*Babylonian Expedition*, 15. no. 120. l. 2) and Arad-ya-u (*ibid.* 17. no. 48. l. 9) do not fulfil this condition, as they lack the determinative.

Taanach which was written between 1400 and 1300 B.C.³⁵ It has long been supposed that Yahweh is the first element in the name of Yau-bi'di, a king of Hamath³⁶ who was overthrown by Sargon II., and it has been supposed that the presence of these names in Palestine and Syria as well as in Babylonia is proof that the divine name Yahweh was not the peculiar possession of Israel, but belonged also to widely scattered Semites.³⁷ Of course the same uncertainty attaches to the names Yau-bi'di and Akhi-yama as to the names previously discussed; but in case the name Yahweh is really represented in these forms, how are we to account for its presence?

The analogy of the use of other divine names among the Semites would lead us to look for the explanation in the use of some common epithet, rather than in the worship of the same deity. Thus it has long been recognized that the names Ishtar, Ashtar, Attar, Athtar, Astar, Ashtart, and Ash-toreth found in the various parts of the Semitic world are the same name, and that they are applied to deities so nearly alike that the epithet in which the name originated was appropriate, but that the deities were not identical.³⁸ Athtar, worshipped in South Arabia, had no relationship to Ashtart, worshipped at Sidon, except the kinship due to a common, though far-away, origin. Similarly the term Baal, applied so often to Canaanite gods, is kindred to Bel, which was applied to Babylonian deities. The deities were not, however, identical. Thus also Shamash, worshipped at Agade, Shamash, worshipped at Larsa, Shemesh, worshipped at Beth-Shemesh, and Shams, a goddess worshipped in South Arabia,³⁹ all bear the same name, but are clearly not identical. Analogy would accordingly lead us to suppose that a divine name which apparently was used in Babylonia in the time of Hammurabi, in the Kassite period, and possibly in the family of Naram-Sin, also at Taanach, at Hamath, and among the Kenites of the peninsula of Sinai, as well as by the Hebrews, was, like these other names, an epithet that

³⁵ See Sellin's Tell Ta'anek, p. 115, no. 2. 2 and p. 121. no. 2. 2.

³⁶ See e.g. Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament, p. 66 (3d ed.).

³⁷ So Rogers, Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, p. 95.

³⁸ See e.g. Hebraica, 10. 68, and the writer's Semitic Origins, chapter iii.

³⁹ Cf. Mordtmann and Müller's Sabäische Denkmäler, no. 13.

could be applied to different gods — deities which may have had a common origin and similar characteristics, but which were not identical. No one can study Semitic religion comprehensively without being impressed with the fact that all native Semitic deities are in origin closely connected with the primitive Ishtars. In some instances the goddess herself seems to have turned into a masculine deity, as in the case of Athtar in South Arabia; in some instances the god who in primitive times was Ishtar's son has assumed a position superior to Ishtar or independent of her; and in some instances the gods or spirits who in the primitive polyandrous society were thought of as Ishtar's loosely married husbands, have undergone a development more or less independent of the goddess herself.⁴⁰ As Semitic tribes migrated and settled in new environments, their deities naturally took on many new functions or attributes from the new surroundings. As empires brought different tribes or cities into political unity, pantheons were formed, and in course of time special functions were assigned to different gods; but in the case of many deities, and these the most prominent, one can still trace, in the characteristics of the god, in the hymns that are sung to him, or in elements of his ritual, the marks of his former history. In the case of the prominent Semitic gods, the predominant common feature is the element of fertility, accentuated in the fashion peculiar to the Semites. This feature is the link connecting these deities with their common source. This source was common in the sense that the different tribes were moulded by a similar environment and developed similar social and religious institutions, not that all the gods were descended from one goddess and her polyandrous family.

There are features connected with the worship of Yahweh in Israel and conceptions concerning him which clearly connect him with this common Semitic source. He was the god of fertility, the god who 'opened the womb';⁴¹ to him an oath was taken by putting the hand 'under the thigh.'⁴²

⁴⁰ See the writer's *Semitic Origins*, pp. 87, 125 ff., 133 ff., 190 ff., 289 ff.; *Biblical World*, 24. 169. n. 3; Paton, *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, 19. 57.

⁴¹ Cf. *Genesis* xxix. 31, xxx. 22, xlix. 25; *Exodus* xiii. 2; *Psalms* cxvii. 3; etc.

⁴² *Genesis* xxiv. 9.

Yahweh's autumn festival was preceded by a wailing, which was probably a survival of an earlier wailing for the son of the old mother goddess, variously called Tammuz, Adonis, and Dhu-l-Shara in different parts of the Semitic world.⁴³ If other Semitic peoples really had gods called Yahweh, these were probably sufficiently similar to the Yahweh of early Israel, either in origin or in nature, to permit the epithet Yahweh, whatever it may mean, to be applied to them. As already noted, the analogies of other deities show that this is the nearest approach to identity that it is necessary to assume.

Two consequences seem to follow from the foregoing considerations. We should probably look for the origin of the name Yahweh in some early home of Northern Semites in Arabia, whence migrations occurred to Babylonia, Palestine, Sinai, and Hamath; and we should expect that name to denote some feature of deity as the giver of fertility. Not much importance can be attached to an argument from the etymology of the Tetragrammaton, as so many origins have been suggested only to be shown inadequate.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, one etymology which has been suggested several times⁴⁵ is so in harmony with the conditions to which the above considerations point, that in the light of our present knowledge it seems possible that it is correct.⁴⁶ This etymology derives the name Yahweh from the Arabic verb *hawiya*, 'he loved passionately,' 'he desired.' This would give a meaning so suitable to a god of fertility that the epithet might easily stick to the numina of tribes that migrated from the region where it was first used to widely separated centres. Naturally it would be interpreted by the Hebrews in later times as a Hebrew word.

These early occurrences of the name Yahweh in Babylonia, if they are real, do not necessarily imply that the deity worshipped in the time of Hammurabi was the same as that afterwards possessed by the Israelites, but only that the name

⁴³ Cf. W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 411 ff., especially 414 (2d ed.); *Semitic Origins*, p. 239. ⁴⁴ Cf. *Semitic Origins*, p. 232, n. 5.

⁴⁵ For instance, in *The Nation*, 75 (1902). 15.

⁴⁶ The present writer accepted it when writing the article 'Israel' for *Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible in One Volume*; cf. p. 411.

Yahweh as an epithet developed early in a centre from which Semitic tribes migrated, and that it was, like Ishtar, Baal, and Shamash, widely used — more widely than we have hitherto supposed.

Another theory that has found advocates in recent years is that Yahweh was a moon god. This has been urged by Hommel,⁴⁷ implied by Winckler,⁴⁸ in part accepted by Zimmermann,⁴⁹ and worked out at length by Nielsen.⁵⁰ The proof for this view is sought in two directions, Mesopotamia and South Arabia. Abraham, who is said to have been called by Yahweh to leave Harran, the seat of the moon god's worship, sojourned at Kirjath-arba, which is believed to have been so called from the four phases of the moon, and at Beer-sheba, the name of which betrays as one of its elements the seven days that measure a phase of the moon. The name of Abraham's wife, Sarah, is identical with *šarratu*, a title of the moon goddess at Harran, and Abraham's sister-in-law bore a name identical with *malkatu*, a title of Ishtar, who was also a member of the pantheon at Harran. The home of Yahweh was at Sinai, which was apparently named from the Babylonian moon god Sin. In addition Nielsen urges that some sexual taboos in Leviticus were identical with taboos observed in South Arabia, as shown by three bronze tablets which are inscribed in Sabæan characters,⁵¹ and that the feast of the new moon was observed in Israel.

Of this theory Stade has remarked⁵² that, if Yahweh was a moon god, no trace of the fact has survived. If this statement is thought too strong, and the feast of the new moon is considered such a trace, this nevertheless does not prove that Yahweh was originally a moon god; it would at most show that at one period of his history he was for a time associated with the moon, or that there had been some degree of syncretism with a moon deity.⁵³ The sexual taboos cited by Nielsen are proofs that both Yahweh and the gods of South Arabia were deities of fertility.

⁴⁷ Aufsätze und Abhandlungen, pp. 159, 160.

⁴⁸ Geschichte Israels, *passim*.

⁴⁹ Keilinschriften, pp. 364 ff. (3d ed.).

⁵⁰ Die altarabische Mondreligion und die mosaische Ueberlieferung.

⁵¹ Nielsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 206 ff.; Leviticus xv. 16, 17.

⁵² Biblische Theologie, p. 42.

⁵³ Stade, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

Another theory, advocated by Gunkel in 1901 and 1905 ⁵⁴ and by Eduard Meyer in 1906, ⁵⁵ is that Yahweh was a volcano god. This view is based on the description of the appearance of Yahweh on Sinai at the time of the making of the covenant with Israel (Exodus xix. 18), ⁵⁶ when the smoke ascended as the smoke of a furnace and the whole mountain quaked greatly, — a description which admirably suits a volcanic eruption. Recollection of this volcanic eruption is also found in Deuteronomy vv. 4 ff., 22 ff.; ix. 15. Gunkel had noted ⁵⁴ that the account of the destruction of Sodom and the cities of the plain says this was accomplished by fire and brimstone, and makes no mention of the Dead Sea; hence he reasoned that the story was not native to this locality, but had been brought here from elsewhere, — as he believed, from the northeast coast of the Red Sea. The story affords Meyer further proof of the connection of Yahweh with a volcano.

There are in Arabia extensive regions of volcanic rock which the Arabs call *Harrats*, and a number of Arabian writers have described them. In 1868 Loth published ⁵⁷ a description of them gathered from Yaqut's Geography, and Meyer, making use of this article, concludes that the original volcanic Sinai was one of those nearest to Syria on the road from Tebuk by Medina to Mecca. He says that nothing stands in the way of the supposition that one of these volcanic peaks may have been active within the historic period, even though no mention is made of it in saga or literature. Meyer appears to have overlooked the fact that in Wüstenfeld's translation of Samhudi's History of the City of Medina ⁵⁸ there is material which more convincingly supports his theory. The *Harrat Khaibar*, north of Medina, is called the *Harrat Nâr*, or *Fire Harrat*. Its name implies that volcanic activity has taken place there

⁵⁴ 'Genesis,' p. 195, in Nowack's Handkommentar; Ausgewählte Psalmen, pp. 80 ff., 117, 180 ff. ⁵⁵ Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme, pp. 69 ff.

⁵⁶ The volcanic nature of Sinai is also advocated by Haupt in his article 'Midian and Sinai,' Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 63 (1909). 506-530.

⁵⁷ Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, 22. 365-382.

⁵⁸ Cf. Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 9. 18.

within the memory of man. It is an extensive tract, over one hundred miles long and in some parts thirty miles wide — a wilderness of lava and lava stones, with many extinct craters of volcanoes. Igneous rocks of various sorts abound, and in some places the lava beds are six hundred feet deep. Signs of volcanic action are still seen at Khaibar, smoke issuing from the crevices and steam from the summit of Gebel Ethan. Samhudi reports a volcanic eruption here in March, 1256 A.D., which lasted two days. The earthquakes were felt at Medina, and the smoke darkened that city.⁵⁹ Meyer may therefore be right in claiming that in the narratives of the Hebrews we have traditions of volcanic eruption. Such a tradition would, however, seem to be more certainly present in the story of the destruction of Sodom than in the story of the descent of Yahweh upon Sinai, for this last account might be an exaggerated description of a thunder-storm.

If there are volcanic elements in the traditions of Yahweh, it is not certain that we need to go so far afield as Arabia for them. Ellsworth Huntington, *Palestine and its Transformation*, 1911, pp. 195 ff., believes that he found near Suweimeh on the east side of the Dead Sea sufficient evidence of volcanic activity to account for the story of Sodom.

Of course if a people lived for a time near a volcano, they would naturally take its activity for the activity of their god; and this would introduce volcanic elements into the traditions concerning the god. In the case of Yahweh, however, even if it be admitted that there are volcanic elements discernible, they are few. The elements of fertility connected with the conceptions of him are more abundant and probably earlier. He cannot accordingly be fully accounted for as the god of a volcano.

Another theory of the origin of Yahweh must be mentioned, on account of its recent advocacy. Stade in 1889 urged many reasons for supposing that Yahweh was originally a storm god.⁶⁰ This view the writer once held,⁶¹ but

⁵⁹ See Zwemer, *Arabia and the Cradle of Islam*, p. 23. Zwemer calculates the date rightly; Wüstenfeld incorrectly counts Gumada A.H. 654 as March, 1169, instead of 1256.

⁶⁰ *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1. 429 ff.

⁶¹ *Oriental Studies of the Oriental Club of Philadelphia*, pp. 86 ff.

he afterward saw that it was inadequate to account for all the conceptions connected with Yahweh.⁶² It has however been recently revived by Dr. Ward in an article published in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*,⁶³ and made the basis of a theory of the origin of the worship of Yahweh. The god Adad or Hadad as pictured on seals and in other forms of art which come from Babylonia and Western Asia is portrayed as carrying a thunderbolt; as a god of war he carries a bow, club, and spear; and as a god of agriculture or fertility he is represented as leading a bull. The references to Yahweh in the Old Testament frequently represent him as coming upon the clouds and in a thunderstorm; he was the god of armies — a man of war; images of bulls were made to him of gold. These resemblances led Dr. Ward to conclude that Adad was the pagan Yahweh before becoming the universal god of monotheism, and he offers this as a more probable theory than that Yahweh was the "utterly unknown god of the Kenites of Moses' time."

This theory is evidently a very tempting one to Professor Clay, who holds that the name Yahweh as it is found in Babylonia is of Aramæan or Amorite origin, and that the tradition that Abraham was an Aramæan from Haran shows that Yahweh was an Aramæan deity. He does not, however, fully commit himself to the view that Yahweh was a Hadad.⁶⁴

Dr. Ward has rendered a real service in calling our attention to the rich material which his special subject, Babylonian and Hittite seals, has to contribute to our understanding of the various gods which were called Adad or Hadad; but the theory itself is not a satisfactory solution of the known facts concerning either Hadad or Yahweh. Its author has not given due weight to some of the facts which he himself presents. A people unskilled in art might represent their god by a picture borrowed from a neighboring people without having borrowed their god at all. Both the scholars who advocate the Aramæan origin of Yahweh have overlooked one very important factor which is deeply embedded in our Biblical sources, viz. the positive testimony to the Kenite origin of Yahweh. This is treated more fully below.

⁶² *Semitic Origins*, pp. 279 ff. ⁶³ 25. 175-187. ⁶⁴ *Amurru*, pp. 86-90.

Dr. Ward rightly recognizes that Hadad was not a storm god pure and simple, but also a god of fertility and a god of war. He recognizes that the Hadads were of composite origin and were the tribal gods of henotheistic clans. His general outline is in close harmony with that made by the present writer in 1901,⁶⁵ although from his new material he now rightly emphasizes the war-god characteristics of the Hadads as was not possible before. It is however a defect in his argument that he fails to recognize that the Hadads themselves were not borrowed from one another, but were the product of similar origins and developments. They probably originated in a desert and oasis environment as the tribal deities of henotheistic clans, and in doing all that a god ought to do for their tribes they naturally became gods of war; also, when these tribes moved into lands where the necessary water came from the clouds and not from springs, the deities were naturally thought to express themselves in storms, and in the thunder and lightning which accompanies rain.⁶⁶ This view is supported by the fact that springs were sacred to Hadad, and that as Adad in Babylonia⁶⁷ he is associated with Ishtar, and at Mabug with Attar.⁶⁸

Indeed, as the Semitic people were a practical folk and not given to abstractions like the people of India, it is doubtful whether even in Babylonia the gods were at the beginning more closely associated with the sun, moon, earth, sea, and wind than in other parts of the Semitic world. That is, it is doubtful whether we have any case of what Bloomfield calls for India a transparent god.⁶⁹ A study of the hymns addressed to various Babylonian gods tends to show that all Semitic and even Sumerian deities originated as tribal gods, connected in one way or another with all the activities

⁶⁵ Semitic Origins, pp. 225-229.

⁶⁶ This is in substance the origin of Hadad as sketched by the writer in 1901 (*loc. cit.*). The account of the god which Dr. Ward gives confirms the probability of this origin. He adds from the seals the war-god feature; otherwise his sketch accords fully with mine. The seals were inaccessible to me.

⁶⁷ As in the city of Lulubi; see *Recueil de Travaux*, 14. 100-106.

⁶⁸ Cf. Lucian, *De Syria Dea*, §§ 14, 31. The god is here called Zeus, but he stands on a bull and so is probably Hadad.

⁶⁹ Meaning by the term a god that is clearly the deification of a natural phenomenon, like the sky or sun. See Bloomfield, *Religion of the Veda*, chapter iv.

of a tribal deity, and that the later special association given them with different functions of nature or different planets, and the different spheres assigned to them, never quite suppressed the traces of their origin.⁷⁰

If then we have regard to the development of Semitic deities in general, and especially to the development of Hadad, there is no convincing proof in the facts adduced in support of the theory that Yahweh is derived from Hadad. If an Arabian tribe of Midianites whose tribal god of fertility was Yahweh engaged in wars, as they no doubt did, Yahweh would inevitably become a god of war. If they moved for a time to the peninsula of Sinai or had that as a part of the tract where they roamed, their god would inevitably become the god of storms, thunder, and lightning, for severe thunder storms occur there to the present day.⁷¹ The Kenite theory of the origin of Yahweh supplies all the conditions necessary to account for all the resemblances which have been urged. When we remember that it was in all probability similarity of conditions alone which created the resemblance between Hadad and the Hittite storm god (for here there can hardly have been borrowing) the evidence adduced for the Hadad theory turns out to be only evidence for the Kenite theory of Yahweh's origin.

This view, moreover, seems to be forced upon us when we turn our attention to the second consideration mentioned above. This is the fact that the only positive testimony we

⁷⁰ That Nergal, one of the sun gods, was also a god of fertility, is shown by some lines of a hymn translated in *King's Babylonian Magic*, p. 89 (lines 9, 10), and by Böllenrütcher, *Gebete und Hymnen an Nergal*, p. 15 (lines 9, 10). That this holds good for the moon god Sin is shown by *Cuneiform Texts*, 17. 15, translated by Perry, *Hymnen an Sin*, p. 17; by Vanderburgh, *Sumerian Hymns*, p. 43; and by Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, p. 297. Vanderburgh's rendering brings out the thought most clearly. In another hymn Adad is a bull god, which clearly connects him with agriculture and fertility, although the rest of the hymn is occupied with his power in storm, lightning, and thunder. Cf. *Cuneiform Texts*, 15. 15. 19, translated by Vanderburgh, *op. cit.*, p. 56, and by Langdon, *op. cit.*, p. 283. Again the first of these translations is to be preferred. That Ishtar was primarily a goddess of life and only loosely associated with the planet Venus is too patent to need illustration. Even Anu, who seems of all the Babylonian gods most like an abstraction, was also a god of fertility, as the name Anu-banini, 'Anu is our begetter,' shows. Nidaba, the grain deity of Umma, can hardly have been an exception, as she was the tribal deity of a city. The one exception, Gibil, the fire god, is not a primitive deity.

⁷¹ See Agnes Smith Lewis in the *Expository Times*, 17. 394.

have in the Bible as to where Yahweh came from, is that he came from Horeb, and that Jethro, who is sometimes called a priest of Midian and sometimes a Kenite, offered the sacrifice which initiated the Hebrew leaders into his worship.⁷² This positive tradition of the fact that Israel first learned the worship of Yahweh in Horeb, the country of the Midianites, is found in the North Israelitish document of the Pentateuch — from the very part of Israel in which presumably Aramæans from Harran would be most likely to settle, and in which the Biblical traditions from Aramæan elements would therefore be most abundant. It is only in Judah, where the Kenites settled, that the impression prevailed that the name Yahweh had been known from time immemorial. This testimony is strengthened by the fact that the earliest proper name in the Old Testament in which Yahweh appears as an element is Jochebed, the mother of Moses, who may have been a Kenite. There is abundant evidence in the Pentateuch that the Israelites recognized that they had an Aramæan inheritance in their blood, and that in the stories of Abraham they traced a part of that inheritance to Harran. Since Aramæans formed a part of the Israelitish nation, it would be natural that they should fuse some of the ideas that they formerly entertained of their god with their ideas of Yahweh, but we have no evidence that these particular Aramæans worshipped Hadad at all. Not all Aramæans had him for their god. Zkr, for example, worshipped the god Alor or Alur,⁷³ and at Harran the god of whom we actually know was the moon god Sin. There is no evidence to connect the Yahweh which is perhaps an element in Babylonian proper names with Harran, nor is there any which connects Adad with Harran. To suppose then that if Abraham came from Harran he worshipped Adad under the name Yahweh is pure assumption. The testimony of the document which was treasured as their book of origins by the North Israelites, the very Israelites who had in them the Aramæan strain in its greatest purity and who lived in closest contact with the Aramæans, that the name Yahweh came from Kenite Horeb,

⁷² See Exodus iii. 1 ff.; Judges i. 16; Exodus xviii. 12.

⁷³ See Pognon, *Inscriptions Sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie et de la région de Mossoul*, no. 86.

must, so far as I can see, be decisive,⁷⁴ unless we assume that they themselves knew nothing about the matter. We do violence to the one bit of information that they have given us on the point, if we seek the origin of the name Yahweh as it was applied to the god of Israel anywhere but among the Kenites. So far from being the "utterly unknown god of the Kenites," Yahweh's adoption by Israel has made him in some ways the best known of all Semitic deities. As he appears in the early days after Israel adopted his worship he is a god of fertility, a god of war, and a god whose voice is the thunder. It is difficult to see how we could know any more about him if we had his picture on a few seals. We do not know so much concerning any single Hadad.

It remains to mention one other theory. Professor Haupt, in the *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, 12. cols. 211-214,⁷⁵ holds that Yahweh was originally the god Esau of Edom, from which country he was borrowed by the Israelites. The real arguments advanced in support of this view, apart from those which are secured by emendations of the text, are that in the song of Deborah Yahweh is said to have marched from Seir and Edom (Judges v. 4) and that the name Yahweh is a late priestly translation of Esau. Esau, from עֲשָׂו, he interprets as meaning 'creator,' and Yahweh he interprets as a *hiphil* of יָרָא, meaning 'he who causes to be' or 'he who brings into being.' This etymology of Yahweh is not new, having been held by Le Clerc, Gesenius, Schrader, Baudissin, Schultz, Kuenen, Lagarde, and formerly by the present writer.⁷⁶ To regard it as a translation of Esau is however new. This theory of the origin of Yahweh is unsatisfactory for the following reasons:

1. It is directly contrary to the testimony of the E document, already discussed on page 199 f., that Yahweh was a Kenite-Midianite deity.

2. There is no real evidence that Esau was a god at all.

⁷⁴ This testimony is not invalidated even if one should, with Eerdmans, *Alttestamentliche Studien*, regard the Elohim of the document as polytheistic. The present writer is not, however, convinced of the correctness of this view.

⁷⁵ Cf. also his article, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 63, 506 ff.

⁷⁶ *Semitic Origins*, p. 232, n. 5, and the references given under § 4 of the note.

So far as the evidence of theophorous proper names goes, Edom was the god of the Edomites as the name Obed-Edom witnesses, but I know of no name in which Esau appears as a theophorous element. There is the name 'Asayah (אִשָּׂיָה) which occurs in 2 Kings xxii. 14, and which the Chronicler has thrust into the older genealogies of the Levites and Simeonites (1 Chronicles iv. 36, vi. 15 (Eng. 30), ix. 5), but it more naturally means 'Yau has created' than 'Yau is Esau.' There is also the name אֱלֹהֵי יֵשׁוּעַ, 'God has created,' a brother of Joab (2 Samuel ii. 18, etc.), as well as יֵשׁוּעַ, which the Chronicler has added to Simeonite clans (1 Chronicles iv. 35), but in these as in the other, אֱלֹהֵי is a verbal element.

3. Historically it would seem impossible that such borrowing could have occurred. The Kenizzites, of whom the Calebites were a clan, may have become in part an Edomite tribe, but the absorption of a part of that tribe into Judah⁷⁷ is no proof that Yahweh and Esau were identical.

4. Etymologies are at most only proof that a thing is possible. To show that what etymologically is possible was in history a fact we must depend upon other evidence, and in this case such evidence is wanting.

5. The expression in the Song of Deborah is not proof that Yahweh was borrowed from Edom, but only that his home was in a region beyond Edom. It would fit Meyer's volcanic Sinai in Arabia as well as Edom. We cannot suppose that geographical names were used in such ancient poetry with absolute geographical exactness.

The Esau theory, therefore, like the Hadad theory, lacks support. It is of course true that Yahweh and the god Edom were both Semitic deities and had a similar origin. Both were tribal gods; probably both were gods of fertility; and as the kindred clans lived in neighboring regions, probably both underwent a similar development as gods of war and of storm; but more than this cannot safely be asserted.

While the evidence of the Bible clearly indicates that the name Yahweh came into Israel from the Kenites, it is of course true that in a nation, like Israel, formed of composite

⁷⁷ See the article 'Kenizzites' in Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible in One Volume.

elements, there would be legends concerning Yahweh which came from different sources. The ritual practices of his cult as well as the emblems by which he was represented may also have come from many quarters. The history of Christianity both in Europe and in the East affords numerous instances of the transfer of feasts, legends, and practices of an old cult to a new religion. Since the Midianites in their nomadic wanderings penetrated for some distance into the Arabian desert,⁷⁸ it is possible that Israel took over with the worship of Yahweh the traditions to which residence near a volcano had given rise among the Kenites. The introduction of the feast of the new moon may possibly have been due, like the stories of Abraham's migration, to the influx of Aramæans from Harran, where the god Sin was worshipped, though it is quite as possible that it came from Arabia, or that it originated independently. That the Canaanitish beliefs and practices which were absorbed by Israel after the settlement in Palestine contributed Canaanitish elements to the pre-prophetic conceptions of Yahweh, is freely claimed by the prophet Hosea and is as freely admitted by modern scholars. Possibly the Aramæans and Edomites who were absorbed into Israel also contributed some elements to his cult from that of the god Hadad or of the god Esau; but these are the two theories which seem to lack all positive proof. We need first some evidence that the Aramæans who merged with Israel had ever worshipped Hadad, or that Esau was really a god.

It seems therefore that the view that the name Yahweh originated in Arabia and was carried thence by some slight migrations to Babylonia; that it was the name employed by the Kenites to designate their god; that the Kenites probably attributed to him volcanic activity; that wandering into the peninsula of Sinai they added to him the qualities of a storm god; that Yahweh was then adopted by the Israelites, and some few elements of ritual from the god Sin of Harran or some other moon god may have mingled with the forms of his service; and that the conceptions concerning him as a god of fertility which had been entertained

⁷⁸ See the articles 'Midianites' in Hastings's *Dictionaries of the Bible* and in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*.

from the beginning were heightened by association with the Baals of Palestine,—is the most scientific theory concerning the origin of Yahweh which we can at present frame; for it best explains all the facts known to us, and explains them in accordance with what is known of the evolution of Semitic religions. We may admit with Marti ⁷⁹ that it is only an hypothesis, as is true of all else connected with Israel before the time of Moses, but it remains the most probable hypothesis.

⁷⁹ *Die Religion des Alten Testaments* (Tübingen, 1906), p. 6; *Religion of the Old Testament* (London and New York, 1907), p. 17.

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DER SCHLUSS DES BUCHES HOSEA

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DAS schöne Stück Hosea xiv. 2-9, das letzte vor der schriftgelehrten Moral (Vers 10), wird heute weit überwiegend dem Propheten Hosea abgesprochen. Den Spuren eines Cheyne und Marti sind in dem einen Jahre 1905 Harper, Stade und Sievers gefolgt. Wellhausens Urteil, dass in xiv. 2-10 "nur wenig von Hoseas Hand herrühren dürfte," hatte dieser Entwicklung schon seit langer Zeit den Weg gebahnt. Die Versuche von Volz und Nowack einen echten Kern herauszuschälen, die Bedenken Drivers, die ruhige Behauptung bei Cornill und Gautier, die mannhaftige Verteidigung von George A. Smith fallen der entschiedenen Ablehnung gegenüber nicht ausreichend ins Gewicht.¹ Man ist eben gar zu geneigt, der Skepsis den schärferen Blick zuzutrauen.

In Wirklichkeit sind die Gründe, die für die Echtheit von Hosea xiv. 2-9 sprechen, sehr stark, die für fremden und späteren Ursprung äusserst schwach. Für das Zurückkehren zu Jahwe in Vers 2, den grundlegenden Begriff des ganzen Stücks, verweist man auf Jer. iii. 12, iv. 1 statt auf Hos. ii. 9, v. 4, vi. 1, xi. 5. Neben dem ersten Satz des Gelöbnisses in Vers 4, Verzicht auf die Hülfe Assyriens, der durch v. 13, vii. 11, viii. 9, xii. 2 als gut hoseanisch erwiesen wird, besteht man darauf, den zweiten "auf Rossen wollen wir nicht reiten" von dem gleichen Verzicht für Aegypten zu verstehn, und fügt hinzu, dass sich der Ausdruck dafür nur

¹ Am wenigsten Eindruck wird die Verteidigung des Abschnitts durch W. Staerk machen (Das assyrische Weltreich im Urteil der Propheten, 1908, p. 36 ff.), da er es daneben fertig bringt, im Anschluss an Marti ein unerfindbares Stück wie Kap. 3 zu streichen und Hosea, den Prediger der Liebe Jahwes, auf der Höhe seines Wirkens zum Vertreter bedingungsloser Vernichtung zu stempeln.

ous Abhängigkeit von Jes. xxx. 16 begreife. Damit wäre nachhoseanische Abfassung erwiesen. Aber der dritte Satz, Verzicht auf Götzendienst, wieder nach Inhalt und Form durch viii. 6, xiii. 2, u. s. w. in Hosea's Bereich gezogen, beweist, dass von klappendem Parallelismus nicht die Rede sein kann, dass vielmehr auch der mittlere Satz etwas für sich bedeuten *muss*. Das aber ist, dem schlichten Wortlaut entsprechend, der Verzicht auf die *eigene* kriegerische Machtentfaltung, mit dem bösen Beigeschmack, den das Streitross für Israel immer gehabt hat. Nicht ausländische Hülfe, nicht eigene Kraft, nicht die Gunst der Götzen, das ist der Sinn von Vers 4a, alles echt hoseanisch. Das Straucheln durch die eigene Sündenschuld in 2b findet sich genau so v. 5, vgl. iv. 5; zu dem Erbarmen Jahwes in 4b vgl. den Namen der Tochter in i. 8 und dessen Ausbeutung in Kap. ii; zu seinem Heilen (Vers 5) v. 13, vi. 1, vii. 1, xi. 3; zu seiner Liebe ebendort ix. 15 und das ganze Buch Hosea; zu dem Sitzen im Schatten Jahwes (Vers 8) iv. 13; zu v. 8f. im ganzen, der Verheissung reicher Ernten als Geschenk Jahwes, nicht der Götzen, ii. 7 ff. Man muss in der Tat schon mit Marti Wert darauf legen, dass יִנְקָה, 'Schoss', und נֶדָה, 'Pracht', nur bei späteren Autoren vorkommen, oder etwa gar, dass der Oelbaum sonst bei Hosea nicht erwähnt wird, und dass שִׁשְׁקָה als Blumenname sich nur im Hohenlied und einigen Psalmen findet, um Beweise späterer Sprache oder unhoseanischer Gedanken beizubringen.

Das ganze Stück ist vielmehr so hoseanisch wie möglich, da es geradezu das Programm Hosea's enthält, die Umsetzung der Allegorie ii. 7 ff. in die eigentliche Aussage von dem Volke Israel. Die Stelle am Schluss des Buches, die es jetzt einnimmt, ist natürlich durchaus unverbindlich, da wir keinerlei Gewähr dafür haben, dass die überlieferte Reihenfolge der Stücke auf Hosea zurückgeht, allerlei Verwirrung vielmehr als selbstverständlich vorausgesetzt werden muss und im einzelnen nachgewiesen werden kann. Aber anderseits bedarf es auch nicht erst der Annahme, dass das Stück früher eine andre Stelle eingenommen habe, um seine Echtheit zu verteidigen (so z. B. Smith, Gautier, Staerk). Denn dass Israel Jahwes Gnade erfahren werde, wenn es sich, sei es jetzt und ganz, sei es nach schweren Schlägen in seinem

Reste, zu Jahwe bekehre, das ist Hosea's Glaube und Predigt bis zu seinem letzten Atemzug geblieben und konnte bei seinem Einblick in Jahwes Wesen gar nicht anders sein. Auf Grund dieser Einsicht wird man vielmehr sagen müssen, dass Kapitel xiv. sich viel besser zum Abschluss des Hoseabuches eignet als eine Unheilsverkündigung wie xiii. 9–xiv. 1 oder gar die höchste Steigerung des Zornes Jahwes, wie sie in ix. 10 ff. einmal auflodert.

Und dennoch lässt sich das Verwerfungsurteil bei xiv. 2–9 leichter begreifen als bei manchen andren Abschnitten. Die selbstverständliche Voraussetzung jeder prophetischen Heilsverheissung, auch bei Hosea, ist die Würdigkeit der Empfänger oder ihre Bekehrung im Fall der Unwürdigkeit. In Kap. ii. und iii., auch v. 15, vi. 1 ff., ist diese Bekehrung unmissverständlich vorausgesagt; in xiv. 2–4 ist nur der Rat dazu erteilt, und darauf folgt in V. 5 ff. die Heilszusage unbedingt und uneingeschränkt. Die einzige Begründung dieser Verheissung bildet die Aussage 5b, dass Jahwes Zorn von Israel gewichen sei, so unvermittelt und nichtssagend, dass Marti sie für eine Glosse noch innerhalb des späten Anhangs erklärt. Hier klafft eine Lücke. Solange es nicht glückt, sie mit Wahrscheinlichkeit auszufüllen, hat man das Recht, die Herkunft der Verse von Hosea zu bestreiten; denn bedingungslose Heilsverheissung ist auch bei ihm nicht zu erwarten. Aber der Schaden will nicht durch den Feldscher beseitigt sein, der kein andres Mittel kennt als das Absägen des kranken Gliedes, sondern durch die sachkundige und geduldige Hand des Chirurgen, der die Erhaltung und den gesunden Gebrauch des unersetzlichen Gliedes stets im Auge behält.

Jeder weiss, dass die Voraussetzung der Textverderbnis nirgend näher zur Hand liegt als beim Buche Hosea; dass xiv. 2–9 diese seine Lazarusgestalt, die schon nach dem Befunde der LXX sicher in frühe Zeit zurückgeht, in vollem Masse teilt, sollte allein genügen, mit der Zuweisung an eine späte Hand nicht zu eilig zu sein. Hier fehlt vor V. 5 sehr wenig, um alles Folgende als echte Fortsetzung von V. 2–4 verständlich zu machen, nämlich der Wunsch in Jahwes Munde, dass Israel den erhaltenen Rat befolge, ein solches Bussgelübde ablege, sich aufrichtig bekehre. Sobald dieser

Wunsch ausgesprochen ist, ordnet er sich alles Folgende unter, und alle die herrlichen Verheissungen werden damit nur zum verlockenden Bilde dessen, was Israel sich durch Busse und Bekehrung sichern kann. Ein einziger Satz würde dafür genügen, und ich glaube in der Tat, dass er, nur wenig entstellt, aber zum Teil von seiner Stelle verdrängt, sich erhalten hat. Dem V. 5 geht unmittelbar voraus das Wort יתום, 'die Waise,' das vaterlose oder elternlose Kind. Israel spricht in der ersten Person plural.; warum für das 'wir' hier auf einmal 'die Waise' eintritt, für die schlichte Rede ein im höchsten Grade unpassendes Bild, ist schlechterdings nicht einzusehen. Selbst Ps. x. 14, 18, lxxviii. 6 sind schlechte Belege dafür, dass Israel sich als Waise bezeichnen kann, und Evangelium Johannis xiv. 18 darf man doch gar nicht vergleichen. Marti hat daher ganz Recht, wenn er in dieser Fassung gegen den Satz Einspruch erhebt. Aber die einfache Streichung (so auch Sievers) hilft hier doch ebensowenig; denn die Begründung durch ein abschliessendes positives Bekenntnis zu Jahwe ist nach den drei Negationen von 4a gar nicht zu entbehren. Auch die Versetzung von 4b hinter V. 3 (Harper) mag metrischen Postulaten Genüge tun, dient aber im übrigen nur dazu, diese grosse sachliche Schwierigkeit erst recht fühlbar zu machen.

Sobald man aus יתום, das dem falschen Subjekt יתום angepasst ist, das allein mögliche נרחם herstellt, gewinnt man einen guten Sinn: "sintemal wir in Dir Erbarmen erfahren." 'In Dir *allein*' wäre erwünscht, und es liegt so nahe wie möglich, nach dem dreifachen Verzicht, der vorausgegangen, das לך dafür hinter קך einzuschieben. Woher aber das unbrauchbare יתום?

Wir haben gesehen, dass an dieser Stelle ein Wunschsatz sich vermissen lässt. Die beste Einleitung dafür wäre מִי יִתֵּן: eben diese sehe ich in dem überschüssigen Wort. Von den Konsonanten נרחם מִיִּתֵּן ist ein מ und ein י übergangen und dann יתן zu יתום, ausgedeutet und in יתום verdeutlicht worden. Der Rest, durch dessen Abhandenkommen dieser Notbehelf zustande kam, findet sich nicht weit davon in eben dem Satze 5b, den wir schon oben als mit dem Zusammenhang unvereinbar erkannt haben. Er ist es doppelt, wenn V. 5 ff.

nicht die schlichte Zusage des Heils enthalten, sondern die Ausmalung dessen, was eintreten würde, wenn Israel sich aufrichtig bekehrte. Gerade dies **יֵשׁב**, das wir hinter **מִי יִתֵּן** nach V. 2 erwarten müssen, steckt in dem **בִּישַׁב**, womit 5b beginnt, und 'Ephraim' = **אֶפְרַיִם** als Subjekt dazu in dem Rest **אֲפִימַמְנִי**. Durch ein Versehen sind diese Worte von der Stelle hinter V. 4 in die nächste Zeile hinabgeglitten und dann, soweit nicht Verderbnis schon dazu geholfen hatte, dem Fortschritt der Rede nach Kräften angepasst worden. Der bis dahin ermittelte Satz **מִי יִתֵּן יֵשׁב אֶפְרַיִם**, 'O dass doch Ephraim sich bekehrte!' könnte vollständig sein; aber ebensogut können die unverwendeten Buchstaben **מִנִּי** noch die Stelle einer kleinen Ergänzung einnehmen, etwa **אֵלַי**, 'zu mir,' oder besser noch **בְּאֵמֶת**, 'aufrichtig.' Jedenfalls schliesst sich nun das Folgende vortrefflich an: "Wie wollt' ich heilen ihren Abfall, sie aus freien Stücken lieben!", u.s.w.

Es wird sich empfehlen, von hier aus zunächst die Rede Jahwes bis zu Ende zu verfolgen und nach Kräften herzustellen. Der Name Ephraim, den wir vor V. 5 wiedergewonnen haben, findet sich auch V. 9 — nebenbei ein weiterer Fingerzeig, dass xiv. 2-9 schwerlich nachjeremianische Maché ist — wahrscheinlich ist aber überdies in V. 8, vor **יִפְרֹחַ**, ein **אֶפְרַיִם** verloren gegangen. Man sieht aus diesem Vorschlag schon, dass ich mit den von Sievers so fein durchgeführten Fünfern keineswegs einverstanden bin. Sucht man nach bestimmten Versmassen, so lassen sich Verse von gleichschwebenden Zeilen, Doppeldreier untermischt mit Doppelvierern, wie Hosea sie auch sonst liebt, leichter gewinnen. Die Verse 6-8 bilden je drei Zeilen.² Und nun weiter in der Herstellung des Textes. In V. 7 ist Wellhausens **בְּלִבָּנָה** nicht anstatt sondern hinter **בְּלִבָּנָה** oder **בְּלִבָּנָה** am Platze, weil der Weinstock sich durch die reiche Ausbreitung seiner Schüsse über der Erde (in Palästina wagrecht gelegt) auszeichnet, wie andre Bäume durch die ihrer Wurzeln. Am Ende von V. 7 ist doch wohl **בְּלִבָּנָה**, 'wie Weihrauch,' zu lesen. Dass das Subjekt sich in V. 8 in den

² Wer auf einem durchlaufenden gleichen Versmass besteht, mag daher daran denken, diese Verse ausscheiden, zumal sie auch sachlich nichts wesentlich Neues herzutragen. Aber man beachte wohl, dass auch V. 4 in drei Zeilen gelesen werden muss.

Plural umsetzt, bleibt in dem überlieferten Text ohne Erklärung; hinter **שְׁבִי** wird **בְּנֵי** 'seine Söhne,' übersehen sein, womit zugleich die bildliche Rede in die eigentliche übergeht. Längst ist **שְׁבִי בְּצִלִּי** hergestellt; dann aber ist **וְיִסְרְדוּ נִסְן** gut und nur weiter zu lesen **וְיִסְרְדוּ נִסְן** 'und werden Weinstöcke zum Treiben bringen,' unter Streichung des **כ** nach LXX. So fällt der "Mischmasch von eigentlicher und bildlicher Rede" fort, an dem Wellhausen Anstoss nimmt. Die dritte Zeile muss von dem Erzeugnis ihres Weinstocks reden (**נִסְן** männlich wie x. 1). Ob der Libanon damals schon berühmten Wein erzeugte, wissen wir nicht; vielleicht darf man nach Hes. xxvii. 18 **וְיִסְרְדוּ** herstellen. Neben **וְיִסְרְדוּ** 'und sein Rauschtrank,' mag **וְיִסְרְדוּ** 'und sein Ruf,' wie Num. xxviii. 7 vom Weine, in Frage kommen. Auch **וְיִסְרְדוּ וְיִסְרְדוּ** wäre möglich. Für V. 9 scheint es mir geratener, nach dem einzigen **וְיִסְרְדוּ**, das auch von LXX bezeugt wird, die Anrede überall durchzuführen, als dies und das **וְיִסְרְדוּ** im Anfang in die dritte Person Singularis umzusetzen. Dann ergibt sich mit V. 9 ein tiefer Einschnitt: in zärtlicher Anrede schaut Jahwe das Ersehnte vollendet und zieht den letzten Schluss daraus. Vor dem graphisch sehr leichten, sachlich recht fernliegenden Vorschlag von Wellhausen, in die zweite Person umgesetzt **וְיִסְרְדוּ וְיִסְרְדוּ**, deine 'Anat und deine Ascheren,' scheint mir der von Volz **וְיִסְרְדוּ וְיִסְרְדוּ** 'ich erhöere dich mit Most und Getreide,' nach ii. [7] 11, 24 bei weitem den Vorzug zu verdienen. Vor **וְיִסְרְדוּ** ist **וְיִסְרְדוּ** kaum entbehrlich und der Ausfall leicht zu erklären.

Ein Blick auf den Anfang mag endlich noch lohnen. Die Kürze von 2b und 3a macht sofort den Eindruck der Klagliedverse (Fünfer) und gibt den Anstoss sie auch fernerhin zu suchen, wie das Sievers durchgeführt hat. Aber hinter **וְיִסְרְדוּ** in 3a bietet LXX noch **וְיִסְרְדוּ**, das man keine Ursache hat abzulehnen, und vor **וְיִסְרְדוּ** in V. 2 würde ein **וְיִסְרְדוּ** noch gute Wirkung tun. Die "Worte" in V. 3 hat man oft unzulänglich gefunden, und in der Tat ist ein Zusatz wie **וְיִסְרְדוּ**, 'begütigende Worte,' kaum zu entbehren. In dem rätselhaften **וְיִסְרְדוּ**, für das Graetz die hübsche Lesung **וְיִסְרְדוּ** vorgeschlagen hat, möchte ich eine Randbemerkung sehen, die bestimmt war, das übersehene **וְיִסְרְדוּ** nachzutragen. Das folgende **וְיִסְרְדוּ** ist gewiss nach V. 2 verschrieben,

nur וְכֵן ist hier am Platze. Für כִּי hat LXX noch בָּל gelesen; die Verderbnis wird dadurch entstanden sein, dass man das * von אֶבֶל zu einem überflüssigen אֱלִי ergänzte. Man streiche also אֱלִי und lese אֶבֶל תִּשָּׂא. Das ו von וְכֵן wird man zurückziehen und dann לֹא לְיָנִי lesen dürfen: 'Ach, du wirst unser Schuld vergeben!' Das אֶבֶל wäre zur Einführung demütiger Rede gebraucht wie Gen. xlii. 21; 2 Sam. xiv. 5; 2 Kön. iv. 14. Ueber פָּרִים שְׂפָתַיִנִי brauche ich dem bisher Gebotenen nichts hinzuzufügen.

Das sind gewiss reichliche Vorschläge zu Textänderungen; aber wer sich davor scheut, soll die Hand nicht an das Buch Hosea legen. Auch der weitestgehende Verzicht hilft hier nichts; denn gerade wer alles, was ihm verdorben scheint, unübersetzt lässt, wird am häufigsten übersetzen, was er nicht verantworten kann. Hier hilft nur *ein* Verfahren: sich mit aller Hingabe in den grossen Gedankengang eines Stücks hineindenken und dann aus dem Vollen des so gewonnenen Verständnisses tapfer an die Herstellung gehn. Wer nicht wagt, gewinnt nicht. Möchte, was ich geboten, wenigstens auf dem richtigen Wege liegen!

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THE SACRED RIVERS OF INDIA

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IN an article recently published,¹ I have discussed the magical power of water and its holiness, which leads to the belief current in India that simple immersion in any water, provided one thinks of a sacred river or pool, frees from sin,² and to the parallel idea that, as water purifies from sin, so it purifies from all that pollutes, stains, darkens, obscures; and hence pure wisdom, which frees from all obscurity, is typified by water, and the god of wisdom and water are identified, just as they are in Babylon (cf. the Teutonic fountain of wisdom). In the present paper I shall take up the beliefs in regard to the sacred rivers of India as these are handed down in the epic poetry, but this will not include a dissertation on the Tirthas or holy watering places, which are generally to be found at certain spots in rivers otherwise holy. The cult of such places is not particularly modern; but to enumerate even the names, much more the legends connected with these names, would take a small volume. It is rather the cult and legends of the rivers themselves which are here in question. For the same reason, the philosophical and religious aspect of bathing and purification, though intimately connected with the subject of rivers, must be passed over with the comprehensive remark that, silly as seem some of the epic dicta (such as for example that a bath in a certain pool purifies just so many ancestors from sin), the poets often rise to heights like that of xiii. 108. 12, where

¹ Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 49. 37.

² Mahābhārata, xiii. 125. 49. In this passage the holy places enumerated in connection with the bath that purifies are Kurukhetra, Gayā, Gangā (Ganges), Prabhāsa, and the Pushkaras. [References below are to the Mahābhārata in the Bombay text unless otherwise stated; those to the Rāmāyana follow the South Indian text.]

it is said, in calm rejection of the lower level marked by the folly of Tirthas, that "true purification is the purification through knowledge," and one should bathe in "the Tirtha of the mind." For, says this teacher, "he has not taken the bath (*i.e.* of purification) who is merely limb-bathed; but he has bathed who has bathed himself in self-restraint, who has made himself pure within and without" (*ibid.* 8 f).

The belief that all rivers are holy is expressed in the great epic with the words "all rivers are Sarasvatīs," xii. 264. 40, where the poet wishes to inculcate the doctrine that for purposes of holiness and religion one river or one mountain is as holy as another, since "the soul is the watering-place; one should not travel to places" (do not be a *deçātithi*). The Sarasvatī is the Jordan of India; but there is more said about it than can be localized, since this name, which means only 'the stream,' was applied first to the Indus, then to an insignificant but holy stream which debouched into and was lost in the desert, and finally to the continuation of this last stream in the Ganges, where in popular fable its Arethusian course really terminated.³ In much the same way the goddess Ganges was brought by the Saint Vasishtha to Lake Mānasa and there "became the river Sarju," xiii. 156. 24. In this same book, 167. 17 f., the Sarasvatī is distinct from both Ganges and Indus and is grouped with the sacred streams of the Punjab in a list of rivers which covers territory from the southern Cauvery (mentioned twice as a sacred river, vss. 20 and 22) to the Oxus, a stream rarely alluded to (the Vakshu or Vankshu).⁴

The list of rivers in this passage contains, with the exception of the Indus, Oxus, and Lohita (*mahānada*), only feminine names, although "rivers male and female" are often alluded to,⁵ and one would think that they were regarded as of either sex indifferently. Such is indeed the case in many instances,

³ Yet in ix. 35. 90, the Sarasvatī, "lost at the Tirtha of Udupāna," unites with the ocean at Prabhāsa (where the moon recovered from consumption by bathing, *ibid.* 77).

⁴ The Bombay text has Cakshu for Vankshu of the Calcutta text, B. xiii. 166. 22 = C. 7648; cf. ii. 51. 20, Vankshu = Vakshu (Oxus). The reading of the South Indian text agrees with that of Bombay (S. I. 271. 22).

⁵ *E.g.*, viii. 79. 74. Cf. the epithet of ocean, *nada-nadī-pati*, 'Lord of rivers male and female,' in Rāmāyana, iii. 35. 7, etc.

for example in Rāmāyana, iii. 60. 11; yet in their mythological aspects, as well as in their poetical application,⁶ rivers are distinctly feminine. 'Lady Ganges' is typical of all the rest, since even a masculine name does not serve to preserve the 'ruddy Çoṇa' from becoming the Çoṇā. The Tirthas, however, remain neuter even when personified, as in the case of the "eldest Pushkara," xiii. 125. 49, etc. These watering-places gradually become holier than the rivers to which they owe their holiness; for example, "the Tirtha of Sarasvatī surpasses in holiness the Sarasvatī," just as the Sarasvatī surpasses the holy land of Kurukshetra, xii. 152. 11 f. But of course not all rivers are holy before their Tirthas. At whatever spot Rāma bathes, the river is hallowed (whether the whole river be holy or not), but also "rivers are hallowed if Rāma bathes in them," Rāmāyana, ii. 48. 9. The Ganges is holy anyway, but doubly holy at Çringaverapura, because Rāma crossed over it there, iii. 85. 65, and Rāmāyana, ii. 83 to 89. The Gumti (Gomatī) is famous because Rāma sacrificed upon its banks, iii. 291. 70. In general, any confluence is sacred, whether it be of two rivers, or of a river and ocean. Examples are the Sarasvatī or Indus or Ganges uniting with the ocean, and Sarasvatī uniting with the Arunā or Ganges with the Jumna.⁷

The epic of Rāma and the South naturally deals more with the rivers of that part of India, and the Pampā, Cauvery, and other southern streams are described and revered as fully as those of the North.⁸ In fact, even in this epic the

⁶ Tāmraparnī (river) sought the sea "as a woman in love her lover," Rāmāyana, iv. 41. 18. Compare *ibid.* 40. 20, and especially the description (*ibid.* 30. 28, repeated v. 9. 51) of rivers showing sandbanks in autumn "like women exposing their hidden beauties," *navasangamasankṛtā jaghandntva yoshitāḥ*.

⁷ The varied reading at xii. 152. 13 removes the absurdity of saying that the "Sarasvatī and Drishadvatī unite in Mānasa lake" (B. *sangamo mānasassaras*; South Indian text, *śaṣamāno 'nusaśjjearet*). The passages referred to above on the confluences will be found at iii. 82. 60 and 68; 83. 152 f.; and 85. 83. The last section, vs. 22 and 33, agrees with Rāmāyana iv. 41. 15 in ascribing the special holiness of the Cauvery to the nymphs that haunt it, as saints haunt the Godāvarī. In later legend the Cauvery is regarded as 'half the Ganges' and is personified as the daughter of Yuvanāṣva and wife of Jahnu, Harivaṅṣa, 1421 f. The South Indian text at xii. 82. 48, *corasamyulā*, makes the Cauvery a resort of thieves.

⁸ Pampā is the name of both lake and river, described Rāmāyana, iii. 73 ff. and 75; also *ibid.* iv. 1. 1. The Narmadā is both *çivā* and *durgā*, *ibid.* 41. 8 (described *ibid.* vii. 31. 18 ff.), that is, it is a violent yet gracious river.

northern rivers are better described, partly because they are better known and partly because Rāma's journey takes him over the famous northern streams, while he ascends to heaven at the "holy Saryu" (Rāmāyana, iv. 28. 18 f.; *ibid.* vii. 110. 7 f.). The Godāvarī owes its sanctity to the fact that Rāma sojourned there (*ibid.* iii. 13. 21, etc.). He crossed without getting out of his chariot the rivers Vedaçrutī and Gomatī and Syandikā (*ibid.* ii. 49. 10 ff.). In her distress Sitā invokes Ganges and Jumna, the latter being called *Ançumatī nadī*, which I have difficulty in believing means, as the scholiast says, 'the daughter of the sun.'⁹ The Yāmuna is a Tīrtha which (Rāmāyana, vi. 12. 28) is filled once (yearly?) by the Yamunā (Jumna); according to (Mahābh.) iii. 84. 44, it should be at the source of the river Jumna.

The lists of these holy rivers begin as early as the Rigveda. The epic lists vary. In vi. 9. 14 f. the rivers in India proper (Bhārata-land) are mentioned, and, *ibid.* 11. 31 f., those in Çāka-land. Other lists are given at iii. 188. 102 f., iii. 222. 22 f., and xiii. 166. 19 f. There are more than one hundred and sixty names in the first of these lists. To consecrate Rāma, water was brought from five hundred rivers and the four seas (Rāmāyana, vi. 131. 53). Compare the list *ibid.* iv. 40. But the old term 'Five Rivers' (Punjab) or 'Seven Rivers' (the Persian and classical designation) still obtains. Compare in vii. 101. 28, "the ocean-going (streams) with Indus as the sixth," which go but "return not," *ibid.* vs. 3 and vii. 45. 7. The epic seven (cf. Vergil's *Æneid*, ix. 30) are not fixed. In one passage, cited below, p. 226, the Ganges is mentioned with six others, and in another the Ganges with six entirely different streams, so that Ganges

⁹ Both epics call the Jumna Kālindī (from the mountain Kalinda), and Sitā offers this stream "a thousand cows and an hundred jars of brandy," perhaps intended for the priests, as explicitly stated when Ganges is invoked, Rāmāyana, ii. 55. 4, 6 and 19; iv. 40. 19. Bharadvāja's holy hermitage is "at the union of Ganges and Jumna." The Jumna represents the stream of youth, "which passes and comes not back," Rāmāyana, ii. 105. 19, *yāty eva* and v. 20. 12, *yad astitam punar nāti*. From the heights of air Sampātī views rivers as "threads" on earth, Rāmāyana, iv. 61. 8; *ibid.* 40. 20 and 30, the Sone is "red, swift and without ford." It is mentioned here with the Kāuçikī (Kosi), Sarasvatī, Mahī, etc., and with another "Sone" which is unknown but may be the first carelessly repeated. The Yāmuna here referred to is probably the mountain Kalinda (*ibid.* vi. 19).

alone remains common to both lists, while it is certain that the Seven of antiquity did not have the Ganges at all. None of these lists includes what Sir George Birdwood in his letter to the *London Times* (March 10, 1910) calls one of 'the proverbial' Seven Rivers, namely, the Kumāri. Ganges herself is sevenfold (see below, p. 226).

A very puzzling thing to one ignorant of the historical development of the epic is the way in which the land of the holy rivers is there regarded. Sometimes it is a sort of holy land, and sometimes it is looked on askance as the abode of sinful people. In viii. 44. 6, "the Indus as the sixth" refers to five other holy rivers remote from the despised Vāhikas, who have been "excluded by Himavat, Gangā, Sarasvatī, Yamunā, and Kurukshetra, and are removed from the five rivers having the Indus as the sixth." The town of these people is Çākala (Sagala), the river is Āpagā, and the Vāhikas themselves are Jarttikā-nāma (Jats), *ibid.* vs. 10 (= South Indian 37. 20, where the text has Caṇḍāla-nāma). The five rivers named here (*ibid.* vss. 31 f.) are the (modern) Sutlej, Beas, Ravi, Chinab, and Jhelum, so that the land is that of the holy rivers. Yet the region is not holy but sinful, the land of Āraṭṭas or Vāhikas.¹⁰ Only low Brahmins live there. A list follows of those "thus blamable," Prasthalas, Madras, Gāndhāras, Āraṭṭas, Khaṣas, Vasātis, Sindhusāuvīras. It is clear that as the demons live in the old Punjab river, assumed as the origin of the name of the sinful Vāhikas, the place cannot be other than the Punjab itself, though the taint extends, as explained in the subtended group, westward (to Kandahar and perhaps to Balkh). In iii. 82. 83 and 89, Pancanada is the name of a special Tīrtha as well as of the Punjab in general, and the Beas Tīrtha in particular is noted as the home of the Nāga Takshaka; it is "in Kashmir" (*ibid.* vs. 90) an elastic term (cf. the origin of Takshaçilā, Rāmāyana, vii. 101, where Taksha is son of Bharata).

¹⁰ The name Āraṭṭa refers to the place, Vāhika to the people (*ibid.* vs. 46; but B has *vāhikam nāma tajjalam*). The origin of the name Vāhika is said to be from Vahi and Hika, two Piçācakas (demons) living in the river Beas. The South Indian text, 37. 43 and 56, reads *Bāhlikam nāma tadānam* and *āraṭṭā nāma Bāhlikā* (*dashv aryo hi no sase*) and also gives the names of the Piçācakas as Bāhlikā and Hika. This text has Eravati (*sic*)!

The rivers are sweet of voice and as a congregation they unite in "praising god Indra" in the most orthodox fashion, v. 17. 22, etc. But when the great god Çiva comes, they, like the birds, are overawed and cease to make a sound, iii. 96. 6. Unconsciously, owing to their purity, they free from ill as well as from sin; but also, as in the case of the Beas and Samangā, they consciously save the good man who falls into their waters.¹¹ The rivers Nandā and Aparā-Nandā "remove both sin and fear," iii. 110. 1. Apart from magical phenomena connected with the rivers, the physical aspects spoken of are chiefly commonplace: the swiftness and whirls of the current, the sandy shores, the creatures that live in the stream, the hermitages on the banks — nothing particularly mythological. In one regard, however, the rivers have changed. In the good old days of Suhotra all rivers "ran gold, free to all," but nowadays only Ganges has gold in its bosom, which is a by-product of the seed of Çiva cast upon its waters when the war god Skanda (Alexander?) was born.¹²

Like the "bloody (or ruddy) Sone," the Sarasvatī is "red," ix. 5. 51, and several rivers are called "golden." The golden Hiranvatī of the holy land seems to be sacred, but its holiness does not prevent its use as a moat, owing to the fact that it is easy to get to and has no mud or sharp stones, v. 152. 7. The Sitā river has this peculiarity, that boats sink in it, xii. 82. 44. Both Ganges and Narmadā are "divided in two" when they run against a hill, vii. 30. 30; xii. 52. 32 (the Narmadā is divided by the Rikshavat Mountains). If these are physical attributes, the statement that "Ganges is not much disturbed at the coming of rain" (Rāmāyana, v. 16. 4) implies feeling. When anything untoward happens,

¹¹ iii. 139. 9; xiii. 3. 13.

¹² Compare, for the old state of affairs, vii. 56. 6 and for Çiva's seed, the passages cited below. Obvious statements in regard to the rivers are that they increase as they debouch into the ocean, v. 110. 17, etc.; Rāmāyana, ii. 62. 18; and that a river is one of the things that "increase by moving" (answer to a riddle, iii. 133. 29 = 313. 62). The origin of rivers is doubtful, like that of saints and great families, v. 35. 72. They have no owners, xiii. 66. 36, being in this regard like mountains and forests and Tīrthas. A poor river is easy to fill. This seems to be a proverb: "Easy to fill is a poor river and a mouse's hand," *supūra vāi kunadikā supūro mūshikānjaliḥ*, v. 133. 9; it is also "easy to ford," vii. 119. 5. The Sone has pearls (Rāmāyana, iv. 40. 20).

rivers are apt to "run backward," which of course also indicates mentality; it is an evil omen as well, vii. 75. 5; ix. 58. 58 f. When the great knight Karna died, "The rivers ceased to flow, the sun sank, and the planet Mercury ran athwart the sky, gleaming like the sun," viii. 94. 49.

The personification of rivers is especially prominent in their married relations, of which more anon, but it appears also in the casual conversations held with rivers. One type of these conversations is where they talk with their kind, that is, with other waters. Thus in xii. 113. 2 f., Ocean, who is naturally the "Lord of Rivers," holds a conversation with Ganges. He is curious to know why the rivers are always bringing down huge trees yet do not convey the slender reeds which line the banks of all streams. Ganges explains that the trees resist and are overwhelmed, whereas the reeds bend and so escape destruction. Another type of conversation is based on the womanly character of rivers, and the talk is here between the stream and the goddess wife of Çiva, in regard to the conduct of good women. Umā, the goddess, xiii. 146. 17 f., asks Ganges and other rivers how exemplary women ought to behave. Incidentally some of the holiest rivers are named at this place, viz. Sarasvatī, the "best of rivers and first of all streams running into the ocean," and then

*Vipāçā ca Vitastā ca Candrabhāgā Irāvati
Çatadrur Devikā Sindhuḥ Kāuçiki, Gāutamī tathā,*

(Beas, Jhelum, Chinab, Ravi, Sutlej, Sarju, Devikā, Indus, Cosy, Gumti), and finally Ganges, "the goddess who came from heaven to earth, and is the best of all."¹³

Those named, however, are not the only holy streams of the Punjab, since Çaradaṇḍā is a holy river there, beside which grows a tree divine that is called *satyopayācana*, that is, 'assuring the wishes' of whoever begs of it, and near this, to the west, is the Ikshumatī, called "holy" (Rāmāyana, ii.

¹³ This is an etymological laud: *gaganād gām gatā devī gangā sarvasaridvārā*. The conversation ends with a lecture by Umā herself, vs. 33 f. The wife should regard her husband as her god and be so devoted to him that she will not even look at another man or male, even at sun or moon (as males), or at "a tree with a masculine name" (*ibid.* 49). Above read Gomatī (?), or Gāutamī is the Godāvarī.

68. 16 f.), while the Çālmālī (*ibid.* 19) is in the vicinity of the Beas.

Divinities live beside the rivers, *tīravāsīnas*, but the streams themselves are invoked to flow with wine and brandy and water sweet as sugar, although in response they actually bring milk (Rāmāyana, ii. 91. 15 and 40). The lakes, however, supply the needed wine at the request of the saint (*ibid.* 69). Both trees and rivers fear at the approach of the fiend Rāvana, and as the trees do not dare to move a leaf, so the rivers are "silent with fright" (*ibid.* iii. 46. 7 and 48. 9). When the trees and rivers are invoked to tell where Sītā is, they will not answer, not because they cannot, but, as is rather quaintly said, they "thought about it but would not speak" (Rāmāyana, iii. 64. 9; cf. *ibid.* 49. 32). Only the animals, by facing south, show mutely the direction, indicating that "they wished to speak" (*ibid.* iii. 64. 15).

Elsewhere ¹⁴ I have alluded to the case of a mountain begetting a daughter by a river; but the poets do not hesitate to ascribe similar relations to rivers and human beings, as in the case of the Cauvery already cited. Satyavati, the sister of the Vedic saint Viçvāmitra and wife of the seer Ricika, became the river Kāuçikī because in death she followed her husband to heaven, whence she descends as the river, — a pretty though illogical legend of the Rāmāyana, i. 34. 8. So in Puranic legend the river Bāhudā is Gaurī, the wife of Prasenajit, now turned into one of the many streams pilgrimage to any one of which exalts a man after death to the high heaven of Goloka.¹⁵ The Bāhudā in the pseudo-epic is the name of a holy Himalayan stream south of Kubera's lake, Nalinī, perhaps the Ganges of Kāilāsa called Mandākinī, located just south of the Golden (hāima) Mountain, xiii. 19. 28 f., 84. Other cases of river wives are

¹⁴ Journal of the American Oriental Society, 30. 11.

¹⁵ As the list at xiii. 102. 45 f. enumerates the holiest watering-places, it may be given here: Prabhāsa, Mānasa, Pushkarāṇi, Mahat-saras, Nāimisha (Tīrtha), Bāhudā, Karatoyinī (= "toyā"), Gayā, Gayaçiras (South Indian Hayaçiras), Vipāça, Sthūlavāluka, Krishnā, Gangā, Pancanada, Mahāhrada, Gomati, Kauçikī, Pampā, Sarasvati and Drishadvati (dual), Yamunā. The South Indian reading has for Krishnā, Gangā, and Pancanada, *tushnām-gangām çandīr-gangām*, which I take to be localities, South Indian, xiii. 159. 46. The Bombay and Southern recensions of the Rāmāyana, verse 4, 41, 13 (B) omit the southern Bāhudā. The Punjab is its real place, later transferred to north and south.

known to the epic poets. Thus the river Narmadā became the wife of king Purukutsa, xv. 20. 13. In xiii. 2. 18 and 38 f., the same river (modern Nerbudda) is said to have fallen in love (*cakame*) with Duryodhana, son of Durjaya, by whom she had a daughter, Sudarṣanā.¹⁶ This girl's son married Oghavatī, daughter of Oghavat (Nriga's grandfather), and *half of her* became a river. But this is not altogether a novelty; the Cauvery is "half Ganges." The girl Ambā, whose conduct, in marked contrast to that of Oghavatī, was crooked, continued in life half as a human being and half as a crooked river.¹⁷

The great sage of the epic bears the name 'River-born' because he is the son of Ganges; and Çrutāyudha is the son of the god Varuna (vii. 92. 44 f.) by the river Parnācā.¹⁸

Some rivers have themselves a mythological origin in that they come from the juice of celestial trees (see the references in the paper cited above in the Journal of the American Oriental Society); but of earthly rivers the Chumbal (unknown to Vālmiki?) has the most curious origin in that it arose from the flood of secretions and blood flowing from the multitudinous cattle slaughtered by the good king Rantideva, a legend referred to on several occasions.¹⁹

Before speaking more particularly of the Ganges, which ever remains the first of rivers, a word may be said in regard

¹⁶ At a Tīrtha on Narmadā Yayāti fell from heaven, and gods and saints hasten there, iii. 89. 1 f.

¹⁷ *Nadī vatseshu kanyā ca*, v. 186. 41. *Kāuṣambi* is the chief town of the Vatsas, and Ambā is connected with *ambu*, 'water' (cf. Kuṣamba).

¹⁸ Bhīṣhma, son of Ganges, is called *āpagāsuta*, *āpageya*, *nadīja*, i. 63. 91; 95. 47; iv. 39. 10; 61. 34; v. 148. 32, etc. Sarasvatī also bore a son, Sārasvata, to Dadhica and was blessed so that she "pleased the gods and manes with her waters and became holiest of holy rivers," ix. 51. 17 f.; 54. 38 f. The great-grandmother of the famous Dushyanta was the Sarasvatī, who at the end of a twelve-years' sacrifice "chose Matināra as her husband and became the mother of Tansu" (Tunsu), i. 95. 27. The river who bore a daughter to a mountain (above) was called Çuktimatī i. 63. 35 f., the name of both river and town of the Cedi. Her daughter married Vasu.

¹⁹ Compare vii. 67. 5; xii. 29. 123; xiii. 66. 42, etc. The name Carmanvati evidently suggested that it had a leathery, *carman*, origin. Such etymologies give rise to various myths. The river Samangā referred to above is interpreted to mean 'with limbs complete' and thus makes whole the "eightfold cripple" Ashtāvakra who enters it, so that he reappears "with limbs complete," iii. 134. 39. This stream used to be called Madhuvilā, and Indra on bathing in it was released from the sin of slaying Vritra, *ibid.* 135. 2.

to the half-mythological and allegorical rivers. Some of these are frankly of the latter sort and deserve remark only as illustrative of rhetoric, not as rivers.²⁰

But there is also an allegorical river which so runs into and is wantonly confused with the mythological river of death and of the underworld that it is difficult to disentangle myth and allegory. Without any allegory the river of hell is a filthy, blood-filled stream which is "one hard river to cross," and hence is called *Vāitaranī*.²¹ Now in the descriptions of battles nothing is commoner than for the poet to describe the river of blood shed by the valiant hero, and this river then inspires a complete picture of the stream, the various parts and implements of the army serving as metaphorical parts and adjuncts of the river, the birds upon it, the fishes within it, the trees beside it, etc. Such rivers are not merely allegorical. They "lead to Yama's home," as is said in viii. 52. 33, and so coincide with the real, mythological "river of death." Thus a hero says that he will make a river flowing to the other world, carrying thither corpses, as in iv. 61. 20, "I will make a river to course to the other world," of which the water is blood, the crocodiles are the elephants slain in battle, etc. A similar river in iv. 62. 17 is "like the time at the end of the ages," that is, full of terror. In viii. 77. 44, the battle-river "leads to the home of the dead," but is "like *Vāitaranī*, which is terrible and hard to cross for those of imperfect soul; so terrible and hard to cross is it for cowards."²² The metaphorical use of rivers

²⁰ Such, for example, is "the river of illusion guarded by the gods" (i.e. life), v. 46. 7; or the "soul-river" in which one should bathe, since its water is truth, its *Tīrtha* is piety, its banks are steadfastness, and its waves are pity, v. 40. 20. This is only another aspect of the "river of life," which is elsewhere described as having desire and wrath as its crocodiles, the five senses for its water, and "firmness is the boat with which one may cross its awful stream," *ibid.* vs. 22. Compare the "*Tīrtha* of the mind" in xiii. 108. 1 f., "that pure pool of truth," which is the *Mānasa* Lake of the intelligent.

²¹ The hell-river of Yama, god of death, is called *Pushpodakā* in iii. 200. 58, which may be said to be its only exclusive name, since its ordinary appellation, *Vāitaranī*, is shared, oddly enough, by one of the many sacred streams (in *Kalinga*). But this section, iii. 200, appears to be an interpolation. Section 201 begins where 199 leaves off, with "having heard the story of *Indradyumna*," i.e., section 199; (this verse, however, is bracketed in South Indian).

²² Rarer than this river allegory is the parallel forest allegory of battle. In ix. 24. 52 it is confused with the flood metaphor: "He entered the flood of the foes'

is similar in the *Rāmāyana*, *e.g.*, C vi. 58. 29 (not in text B), *Yamasāgaragāmini*, "a battle-river going to the Hades-ocean."

THE GANGES

As a goddess, Ganges is subservient to the Great Father, whom she adores, i. 96. 4; and in the passage cited above from xiii. 146, in which her name is derived from her "going to earth,"²² she is represented as humble before Umā, her younger sister and co-wife of Çiva.

In human form Ganges becomes the wife of Çāntanu, i. 98. 5, and the mother of Gāngeya (the 'river-born') Bhīshma, i. 95. 47. She is called the "daughter of Jahnu," i. 98. 18 (Jahnusutā, also Jāhnavī) and the "daughter of Bhagīratha" (also Bhāgīrathī); but only by courtesy (adoption), as she is really the daughter of Himavat (Hāimavatī), vi. 119. 97. Among the gods she has acquired the title of Alakanandā (-atā), and on reaching the world of the dead she is identified with the Vāitaranī, i. 170. 22, also called there Pushpodakā; see above, note 21.

In the geographical section of the sixth book of the epic, vi. 6. 28 f., the threefold (three-pathed) Ganges, called Sarasvatī, is said to issue from the world of Brahman and to fall like milk from the top of Mount Meru into the lake of the moon (created first by her descent), after she had been upheld for 100,000 years on Çiva's head. Here she is said to divide into seven streams, called Vasvāukasārā, Nalinī, Pāvanī, Jambūnadi, Sītā, Gangā, and "seventh the Indus" (Sindhu). She is both visible and invisible, vi. 6. 50. The Nalinī is especially Kubera's stream, though conceived, as in *Rāmāyana* vi. 13. 12, as Brahman's also (cf. vii. 80. 27). The *Rāmāyana*, i. 43. 12, has the Hlādinī and Sucakshu for the first and fourth in this list.

Bhagīratha was first enabled to draw her from Bindusaras, where "she, the divine one, was first established" (revealed

forces, a forest of bows, where darts were the thorns, clubs were the stones, and cars and elephants were the great trees" (following the reading of the South Indian text).

²² The name Gangā is really a derivative from *gā*, 'to go.' From similar roots meaning go, move, flow, etc., come the names of many rivers in India and elsewhere, Sarasvatī, Sarju, Indus, Rhine, Arethusa, etc. Each to its own people is 'the run' (river).

on earth, vi. 6. 44 f. So in Rāmāyana i. 43. 10, the Ganges falls into Bindusaras). Bhagīratha visited Himavat and asked Ganges to baptize the bones of Sagaras' sons, saying, "There is no abode for them in heaven till thou baptizest their bodies (bones) with thy waters," iii. 108. 18. The Rāmāyana has a famous description of the descent of the river at i. 43. Ganges is called the daughter of Bhagīratha because when weary she sank upon his lap; and since she had blessed the bones of the Sagaras she assumed by adoption the place of his son ("she chose him for her father"), vii. 60. 6 and 8.²⁴ Compare the account in iii. 109. 18 f., where she "descended to earth to fill the sea." Here the South Indian recension inserts a passage (cf. Rāmāyana, i. 43. 5 f.) telling of Ganges' anger at being forced to fall from the sky. It is a very undignified addition *in maiorem gloriam* of Çiva. Ganges says if she has to go to hell to baptize the Sāgaras she will take Çiva with her. But she gets caught in Çiva's hair for her folly and there wanders about for a long time "like a grain of ripe corn in a field of grass."²⁵

It is in falling that Ganges becomes divided sevenfold. As the river of sky, earth, and the lower regions she is threefold, "going through three worlds," "having three paths."²⁶

The mystic Trivenī, 'three-stranded' Ganges, is Ganges bound together with the Yamunā and the Sarasvatī, which comes underground to the union, at Prayāga (Allahabad), but this title is not epic, though *veṇīkṛtājālā*, 'having water in strands,' is an epithet of 'three-path' Ganges, Rāmāyana, ii. 50. 16 (where she is described as "wife of Ocean").

²⁴ For *urvaṣ* South Indian has *ūrdhvaḥ*, but this is not so good a reading. Compare xii. 29. 68, where Nilakantha vouches for the word *urvaṣ* as implying the lap (*uru*); also the similar derivation of *urvi* as title of earth, from the fact that Kaçyapa took her (earth) on his lap, xii. 49. 73. To take upon the lap is to imply parentage.

²⁵ The addition in the South Indian text also retells the story how the Sāgaras attacked Kapila and were burned by his glance, and describes Dilipa's succession to the throne and his character (cf. Vishnu Purāna, iv. 4. 1 f.). The story is often told, i. 106 f.; iii. 142. 9 (Ganges falls on the head of Çiva, Vrishanka); v. 111. 8, etc. When falling, Ganges is described as "girdling the sky," *gaganamekhalā*, iii. 109. 9 (the Milky Way). Compare Rāmāyana, iii. 52. 35.

²⁶ *Trilokaḥ*, i. 96. 19; *trivartmaḥ*, xiii. 26. 84; *tripathagā*, ii. 52. 11; Rāmāyana, i. 44. 6; vi. 126. 47; *tripathagdmint*, i. 98. 8. A Tīrtha called Sapta-Ganga is mentioned along with a Tri-Ganga, iii. 84. 29; xiii. 25. 6 and 16 (cf. the Saptasārasvata Tīrtha).

It is rather curious that the sanctity of Prayāga is not fully established. Bhīshma has doubts in regard to the value of Tīrthas anyway, as is mentioned several times, for example in xiii. 25. 5, but it is especially said that "it is not in accordance with the word of the Veda" to visit Prayāga with the idea of dying there as at a sacred spot, iii. 82. 6; 85. 82 and 83. This heresy, however, is introduced merely to be overthrown. The holiness of Prayāga, in fact, leads to grotesque exaggeration in deifying the river, which is worshipped by gods and seers. The glory of Ganges at this point exceeds even that of the Yamunā (*i.e.* Jumna, the goddess sister of Yama). Part of this piety is repeated *ipsissimis verbis* in another glorification of the river in the thirteenth book (below). Prayāga is the base or lap (*jaghana, upastha*) of the earth, and a bath there imparts virtue equal to that given by the four Vedas. Ganges is here the one Tīrtha of this (Kali) age, iii. 85. 75 and 90. A meeting of two armies is compared to the furious confluence of Ganges and Jumna or of Ganges and Sarayū, at the full water of the early rains, vii. 17. 49 and 95. 8, compare Rāmāyana, v. 43. 15. At Prayāga the Ganges is called *Çivodakā* (Rāmāyana, ii. 83. 22), probably not 'Çiva's water' but 'beneficent.' Jars of "the water of Ganges at its union with Jumna" are used at the coronation described in Rāmāyana ii. 14. 34; 15. 5. The two are invoked together by Sītā, the Ganges as "wife of Ocean," *Udadhirāja*, together with all the "divinities of the fords," Rāmāyana, ii. 52, 82 f. Ganges is especially the "home of seers and ascetics," *ibid.* vii. 42. 33, and "destroyer of sin," *ibid.* 46. 23.

The modern ghats (landing places) of Benares may be referred to in iii. 145. 50 f., where it is said that the seven-fold (*-vidhā*) Ganges (*ibid.* 139. 2) after flowing by (*anu*) the great jujube tree in Kāilāsa, has easy fords, cool water, and lotuses; "and gems, corals, and trees adorn its stairs" (*prastāra*). The commentator says that *prastāra* is 'ghats,' and as corals do not grow in the river he is probably right. According to i. 228. 32 the huge fishes called *jhashas* swim in the Ganges.²⁷

²⁷ It will be observed that nowhere in the epic is there found support for the slander that live children are thrown to the crocodiles of the Ganges. That bath-

Generally the sevenfold character of Ganges is explained as consisting in the seven forms of distinct rivers. At vi. 119. 76 and vii. 36. 13 it is indeed said that Ganges enters the ocean sevenfold and makes a vortex there, but this may be only the equivalent of the statement in i. 170. 19 f., that Ganges comes from Himavat and enters the ocean by seven streams, "and one is purified from sin who drinks the waters of Ganges, Yamunā, Sarasvatī (Plakshajāṭā), Rāthasthā, Sarayū, Gomatī, or Gandakī." This list differs, as already observed from the seven streams of vi. 6. 50, there called "the seven Gangās famous in the three worlds." Yet there is still a later division known to the Rāmāyana, i. 43. 12 f.; the three rivers Hlādinī, Pāvanī, Nalinī, are the three Ganges of the east; Sucakshu, Sītā, and Sindhu are the three western Ganges, and the seventh is she who became Bhagiratha's daughter.²⁸

The most sacred spots of the Ganges are, and always have been Gangotri, the place of origin in the mountains; the Gate;²⁹ the junction of Ganges and Yamunā; and the place

ing in the stream purifies from sin is everywhere admitted, e.g., iii. 85. 66 and 69; no Tirtha is equal to Ganges, *ibid.* 96. The "golden sands" of Ganges (*suvarṇasikātā*) are seen near the jujube (Tirtha), where the water, "which used to be cold, is now warm," iii. 90. 26. Compare, for the ghats, the *śraruḥa* trees in the description at Rāmāyana ii. 50. 19. Here too Ganges (*ibid.* 24) is *divyā pāpānāśinī*, 'divine destroyer of sin.' Mr. Birdwood's remark, in the letter referred to above (p. 217), "Sanskritists say . . . that there are intimations of it [the superior sanctity of the Ganges] in the epics, the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana," is putting the case too mildly. The mother of Ganges, according to the Rāmāyana i. 35. 16, is Manoramā by name (*var. lec.* Menā), 'daughter of Mount Meru,' who was the wife of Himavat (Himālaya) and bore him two daughters, Gangā and her (younger) sister Umā (wife of Īva). Menā or Menakā is the mother of Ganges according to Puranic legend, and Manoramā is probably the same person, though usually these names are applied to different nymphs (Apsarasas). Compare also ix. 37. 37-55 and 38. 3 f. on Sarasvatī, Manoramā, etc., and the Sapta Sāvasvatā.

²⁸ The Sucakshu is probably the Oxus (above). These are different streams, *śrotānsi*, which "went to the eastern (and western) district," while Ganges, the seventh, "followed Bhagiratha." At this place the anger of Jahnu at being disturbed by Ganges' flood is described. The great saint swallowed the river but then let her out through his ears on condition that she should be recognised as his issue. Therefore, because she came from him, she was called the "daughter of Jahnu." The Hlādinī is west of the Sutej (Rāmāyana, ii. 71. 2).

²⁹ The place known as Gangā-dvāra, 'Ganges-gate' (now known as Haridvāra, Hardwar) is still a place of pilgrimage, as are the other sacred spots in the course of the river. The epic speaks in one place of the gate Gangā-Mahādvāra, and says that the spot is guarded by Dhāmas, that is, "Mahātmās of unknown appearance who speak the truth." It is peculiar, however, that this place is regarded

where the river debouches into the gulf of Bengal. In xiii. 26 there is a whole chapter devoted to Ganges, who is said (vs. 88) to bear gold in her bosom; to have three paths by which the three worlds are embellished (vss. 72 and 84, cf. the *tristhāna* of Çiva, where the river turns north, xiii. 25. 15); and, by descending upon the head of Çiva, to have saved the sons of Sagara (vss. 72 and 80). Ganges cures all bodily infirmities (vs. 82) and all sins; even the sight of her waters removes sin and saves one's ancestors to the seventh generation (vs. 61 f.). On beholding her one is freed from sin, as snakes lose their poison at sight of Tārka-shya (Garuda). She is to men what ambrosia is to the gods, *svadhā* to the Manes, and *sudhā* to the Nāgas (vss. 44 and 49). She is to other rivers what the sun is to the gods, the moon to the Manes, the god-lord (*deveça*, king) to men (vs. 74). She is identical with Priçni (Nilakantha says this is "mother of Vishnu"), and with Brihatī (Vāc). She is daughter of the Earth-upholder (Avanīdhra, Himavat), wife of Çiva, and mother of Guha (Skanda). She is called Vishnupadī (this may imply the otherwise late legend, Rāmāyana, ii. 50. 26; Vishnu Purāna, iv. 4. 15, that she came from Vishnu's toe), and she was brought to earth by Bhagīratha (vss. 86-89, 93 and 96). They never lose heaven whose bones have been laid within her waters; and one may live as a sinner and yet die blessed if one ends his life beside her sacred stream, for "as long as one's bones lie in Ganges, so long is one magnified in heaven" (vs. 28 f.).²⁰

as so far north that "farther (north) than Gangā-Mahādvāra no (mere) man has ever gone," v. 111. 17 and 19. Possibly Hardwar is not meant, but the exit of Ganges from the caverns of the mountain at Gangotri, where the river has its *udbhāda*, 'breaking out,' among 'Çiva's locks,' that is, amid the icicles at the mouth of the cave. Gangā-dvāra (without the *mahā*, 'great') is, in xiii. 166. 26, one of the holy places of pilgrimage.

²⁰ In iii. 99. 32, Ganges comes from the locks of Çiva (Çambhu), whose wife she is (above); but as in iii. 187. 19 and Rāmāyana, ii. 50. 25, *samudramahishī*, she is also called "the dear wife of Ocean," who receives her. Like a mother "she floods the Deccan district, running down the slopes of the hills like the wife of the king of snakes." In iii. 139. 16, after a general invocation to gods and other rivers, Ganges is thus addressed: "O goddess Ganges, from the golden mountain of Indra (Mandara) I hear thy sound. O Subhagā (blessed one), do thou who art daughter of the mountains (*gāḍharutā*), guard this king from the (perils of the) mountains and give him, as he enters them, thy protection." "The *kapilā* cow is the best of cows, even as Ganges is the very best of rivers," xiii. 73. 42; 77. 8.

The names or titles of Ganges are not confined to the seven synonyms given above, nor to the common patronymics, Bhāgīrathī, Jāhnavī, and Hāimavatī. As a heavenly stream she is called Mandākinī (a name shared by earthly rivers, cf. Rāmāyana, ii. 95 and 103), Mahābhārata, v. 111. 12, etc. Çuka sees the "lovely Mandākinī" as he sails through space, and sees also the naked nymphs that sport in the stream, xii. 334.16. In xiii. 80. 5 this heavenly river is called Mandākinī *vasor dhārā*, 'stream of wealth,' and is the haunt of nymphs and angels. The Ganges also gives her name to Skanda, who like Bhīshma was at first called Gāngeya (cf. Kumārasū), and one of his four forms, called Nāigameya, revered her especially, ix. 44. 16 and 38. It is as the heavenly Ganges that she is revered under the name of Akāṣa-Gangā, iii. 142. 11, 'Ganges of the air,' and the South Indian recension (i. 186. 2) gives her the further title, "the river of the world," Lokanadī. She is called also 'the river of the gods,' Devanadī mahāgangā, iii. 156. 98 (on Gandhamādana), and Suranadī, which has the same meaning: "As the sweet water of Suranadī becomes salt on reaching the ocean," vi. 83. 5, and Rāmāyana, i. 35. 25. As the underground river she is also called Vāitaranī.

Ganges is often represented as appearing to men and reproving, advising, or helping them. Thus in v. 178. 68 f., "she who is courted by saints and angels" advises her son Bhīshma not to fight with Rāma and asks each in turn to desist from battle; while in the following story she "stands in water" (*jale sthitā*) and reproves Ambā for her crooked ways, v. 186. 30. Neither the holiness of the goddess nor filial piety, however, prevents the fight in the prior tale, and then Ganges appears like a Greek goddess on her son's chariot, aiding him in the fight, though still described as "best of rivers." Along with her were eight attendant saints blazing like the sun or fire, who helped her support Bhīshma, so that he did not touch the earth. Then, when his charioteer fell, his goddess mother controlled the steeds with her own hand and guarded him, until in warrior shame he begged her not to intervene, v. 182. 12 f.

No passage in the epic or anywhere else shows more clearly how thoroughly natural phenomena were personified by

the Hindus. Ganges is not a remote celestial personification. The river is within sight of the poet as he writes; by the side of the warrior of whom he sings. She is still th estream; she still "stands in water"; yet at the same time she holds the reins of the warrior's steeds. Nothing could be more personal and humanly divine than Jāhnavī, 'daughter of Jahnu,' as here depicted.

More conventional is the conduct of Ganges when Bhīshma is wounded unto death. She sends the great seers to salute and comfort him on his death-bed, from her far-off home in the mountains. They fly as swans to the dying hero and with their wings cool his fevered face, vi. 119. 97. But this hero takes long to die, and the lament of Ganges comes in more appropriately on his actual decease, at xiii. 169. 21 f., when she is consoled by the news that her hero was really a god, who for a curse had been born as a man (*vasur esha mahātejās*, etc., *ibid.* vs. 31).

As a river goddess she here rises from the Ganges River, where the obsequies of her son are performed, and "weeps bitterly, overcome with grief," asking passionately why her heart does not break when her warrior son is dead, and proudly recounts his glorious deeds. It is a little surprising that so great a goddess does not know that her son is a Vasu god; but here also the womanly character submerges the divine, and the revelation is made to her by a still greater divinity, Vishnu himself in human form.

NEW HAVEN,
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THE TWO GREAT NATURE SHRINES OF ISRAEL: BETHEL AND DAN

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LET me commence with an extract from the diary of my second journey to Palestine, bearing date August 5, 1902, when I approached Bethel by the road from the north: "A little beyond Yabrud we came to the top of all things. Behind us the mountains were like the waves of a stormy cross sea, with a white village perched here and there on their tops, like foam on the crests of the waves. To the west, beyond a series of mountain tops, stretched far below the blue Mediterranean. To the south, descending, there was a great plateau, in which in the distance Jerusalem lay spread out in imposing state. Only to the east we could see no whither, as the land was still as high as we or higher. Just a little lower than we, and close at hand was Beitin. And now I thought I understood why Bethel had been so great a high place. To the north of the village, and a little above, almost on the roof of the world, was a stone field of marvellously piled up natural stone heaps. Until I went in and examined them I really thought they had been built by man. I could imagine that one of these was Jacob's stone, and here the ladder into heaven, and this the site of the famous shrine of Bethel; but I could find no signs of ancient occupation, no remains of old walls, no whitish ruin soil, so distinct from the red virgin earth, no pieces of pottery, not even fragments of worked flint. Some distance to the east, across a deep ravine from Beitin, lie some ruins known as the Burj, but these are late. In the village itself the only ancient remains are part of the walls of a very large pool, now used as the village threshing floor. To the west of the village are visible

the foundations of a wall. On the road to Bireh, below Beitin but close to it, were some interesting remains of pools, a rock-cut aqueduct, troughs, etc., intended to utilize springs which come out of the rocks. There was also a grotto of considerable size cut in the rock, with rock-hewn pillars supporting the roof, and niches, as though for statues, a little way from the door on both sides. The whole reminded me of the grotto of Pan at Banias."

I came near to the truth in this account, but I was still hampered by a mistaken idea of what I ought to find at Bethel. Twelve years before, fresh from my explorations in Babylonia and along the Euphrates, I had visited the place and had searched the neighborhood for the remains of an ancient temple. I came away at that time with a sense of disappointment, because I found no ruins of any apparent moment. It had not occurred to me to examine the natural phenomena of the place. I had not approached it by the same route, and those had not forced themselves on my attention. But even if they had, I doubt whether at that time I should have perceived their significance, because I was still under the bondage of traditional ideas with regard to the interpretation of Jacob's vision in Gen. xxviii., and with regard to the nature of the temple and the worship at Bethel. Now, my attention aroused, I went back not once, but several times, and searched Bethel and the whole country thereabout most carefully.

In the visit recorded above I had noticed troughs, rough cuttings in caves along the road southward and westward from Beitin, between that and Bireh. These I found, in looking up sources, had been overlooked or very cursorily examined and described by former travellers. On them, commencing with the cave or grotto nearest Bireh and about half-way between that and Beitin, I made the following notes, dated August 19, 1902:

"These are called by Guérin and Robinson 'Ain er-Ghazal, a name which we could not hear. Baedeker mentions their existence, and says that they were called 'Ayun Haramiyeh in the Middle Ages. The Survey of the Palestine Exploration Fund notes at this spot 'Ain Kussis and 'tombs.' There are no tombs, and the proper name is 'Ain Kus'a. There is

a terrace of natural rock, from eight to twelve feet above the present road. To this steps were cut on the western side. In the face of the rock above this terrace, following, apparently, a rotten vein through which water oozed, a channel seven feet high and three feet broad has been cut in the rock for about ten feet, when it turns sharply to the east and runs a little distance further. In the bottom of this are six to ten inches of water. From its mouth channels carry water to an extensive system of rock-cut basins of all sorts, shapes, and sizes, to the east. A much deeper and broader channel leads to the edge of the terrace or platform, then turns westward at a right angle, and conducts the water into the side of a cave, the door of which opens on the present road, being cut in the face or scarp of the rock which forms the terrace above. This cave is about forty feet east and west, by twenty-five feet north and south, and the roof is supported by two columns hewn out of the living rock. In front of it in the road is visible the coping of a circular pool, a beautiful piece of masonry. A little further on [*i.e.* eastward], in the face of the rock, under the system of rock-cut basins mentioned above, was another spring oozing out of a rot or flaw in the rock, which had been hollowed out artificially for some distance. The water from this was caught in a rock-cut trough, beneath which was another rock-cut trough, and on both sides the copings of rectangular pools are visible in the present road. There is another small cave, dry, and two or three niches in the rock face at this level, which have given rise to the statement of the Survey that there are tombs at this place. These are in reality, I fancy, the commencement or intention of large caves, like the one mentioned above. Tombs are relatively rare in this section. There is a large one across the wady southward, some little distance to the east, and one or two small ones elsewhere in this valley, but, speaking roughly, they are infrequent and inconspicuous. The stream which runs into the large cave seems to be intermittent at this season, as I have seen it running and seen it dry. The cave is full of mud and water, in which grow beautiful ferns. Near the steps above mentioned, on the edge of the scarp, a wine press was hewn in the rock, with two steps descending into it. The front of the vat is now broken

down. Against the stone wall by the side of the road, about opposite the mouth of the large cave, lies a large stone olive press. This extraordinary system of rock-cut waterworks and the like lies about midway between Bireh and Beitin, villages which have an abundant water supply of their own, in the neighborhood of no village or ruin. About five minutes to the east of these waterworks, on the right of the road, is a very well-built oval pool, served by an underground channel from a spring on the hillside above [to the left of the road], dry at this season. This has no name that we could learn. About ten minutes further, as one ascends the hill toward Beitin, on the right-hand side of the road, is another spring, oozing out of a fault in the base of the rock, the water of which is or was caught in a pool inferior in workmanship to those mentioned above. The Survey calls this pool 'Ain es-Sultan; we heard the name 'Ain Aqabeh.'"¹

Of Bethel itself and the curious stone formations in its immediate neighborhood I made, as already stated, a number of very careful investigations. The following memorandum from my diary, bearing date of August 21, 1902, may supplement the description already given:

"Finding nothing new at Beitin, we crossed the beautiful and highly cultivated valley to the east, among the fig trees of which, on the sides of the hill, there were, they told us, some tombs, which we could not see, to Burj Beitin, on the hill beyond. Here there was a church, and the stone ornamentation found fixes this in the fifth or sixth century A.D. Out of these ruins the Arabs presumably built the small castle, the ruins of which constitute the present Burj. Then we circled around on the hill [to the north and west] to the strange stone circles or masses to the north of Beitin. These are masses of rock worn into strange shapes by the weather, looking in many cases as though hewn by the hand of man, or as though at least man had set one stone upon another. I presume that it is this field of stones, with its weird and artificial aspect, which gave rise to the story of Jacob's pillow and pillar at Bethel. None of us could find any signs of

¹ I had the pleasure of calling the attention of Rev. Mr. Hanauer and Mr. Macalister to these springs and waterworks, which they examined carefully, publishing their accounts in the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly*, 1903.

artificial working of the stones. Here and at Burj Beitin, strangely enough, I found fragments of corrugated Roman pottery, but pottery fragments were scarce at both places, and in the stone field the soil was red, virgin earth."

In general the natural phenomena of Bethel and its neighborhood may be thus described. Bethel is on the southern slope of the crest of the watershed between north and south, 2890 feet above the sea. Just north of it the watershed rises in the form of a rocky crest, sharply marked, the ground falling off rapidly to north and south. This is a genuine climax, to transliterate the Greek word (*κλίμαξ*) by which the *ladder* of Gen. xxviii. is translated in the Septuagint. A little below this crest, on its southern slope, a few rods eastward of the highroad and northward of the modern village of Beitin, is the remarkable stone group just described, a field rather than a circle of stone columns. Beyond this, eastward, the land drops, forming the commencement of the wady, which, passing to the east of Bethel, forms the natural road down into the Jordan valley. Across this wady, at its very head, there is another smaller group of similar rock columns.

Bethel itself is admirably situated, not for defence, but as a centre of pilgrimage. A natural road to the Jordan valley debouches, as already stated, at or immediately below the town, where a road from the Mediterranean plain over the Beth-Horon pass connects with it. It is also on the natural highroad from north to south. There is an excellent supply of water at Bethel itself, not to speak of the various fountains southward, which I have already mentioned, with their curious rock-cuttings. On the other hand there are in all that neighborhood no evidences of any great walled town or any large temple building, such as distinguished Jerusalem; nor, in point of fact, should we expect these things at Bethel.

The political and religious revolt of Israel under Jeroboam was a revolt against what was represented by Jerusalem and its temple. It was a call back to the simplicity of the past in state and church, in protest against the Phœnician temple, palace, and citadel of Solomon. Now while the Jerusalem temple was built on a height, utilizing a natural rock altar with a grotto beneath it as its central feature, it was

never a nature shrine. It achieved its significance by its great temple erected, after Phœnician models, by Phœnician workmen. This temple, connected with the palace of the king, was an essential feature of the magnificent Oriental despotism which Solomon undertook to establishing Israel. It symbolized and was connected with the standing army, the foreign guards, the compulsory service (*kourbash*) of the people, and especially those not of the tribe of Judah.

Israel was not ripe for such conditions, and, rebelling against them, asserted its ancient tribal and local freedom, and at the same time and for the same reason on the religious side reverted to the old primitive, nature, out-of-door worship, in opposition to the artificial Phœnician temple worship of Jerusalem. But if a kingdom was to be established with any sort of organization, capable of holding its own against the organized kingdom of the Davidic dynasty, with its grand new temple, it was necessary to localize this primitive worship and centralize it as much as possible within the limits of the kingdom of Israel. Famous nature shrines there were with which Israel was connected by tradition, like Beersheba or Horeb or Sinai, but these lay outside of Israel, and the way to them led past Jerusalem. Within the kingdom itself there were two great nature shrines, — Bethel, at the extreme south, and Dan, at the extreme north, the former, and presumably the latter, recognized before the time of the Israelites as places of the special indwelling of God, by reason of their peculiar nature formations, the one connecting itself with stone worship, the other with water or fountain worship.

In Jacob's vision in Genesis xxviii., as recorded by E, undoubtedly in this particular the older of the two sources combined in the present narrative, we have a very vivid description of the natural features of Bethel.² The word *sullam*, translated 'ladder' in this narrative, is a *ἀπαξ λεγόμενον* in classical Hebrew. It occurs, however, in late Hebrew and Aramaic, Phœnician, and Arabic, meaning a ladder or a

² Gen. xxviii. 11, 12, 17, 18, 20-22. The narration of J is contained in verses 10, 13, 14, 16, 19a. For further descriptions of situation cf. Gen. xii. 8, xiii. 3; Josh. vii. 2, viii. 9-12, xii. 9. In Judges iv. 5, we find that the Palm of Deborah was near Bethel.

ladder-like ascent or height. It is the name applied to the promontory southward of Tyre, known to-day as the 'ladder of Tyre,' and also to the passage of the Euphrates through the Taurus Mountains. It appears to indicate in these cases a natural, steplike ascent, precisely such as we have at Bethel. The great divide above Bethel was a *sullam* or ladder, a great stage-tower, if we may so put it, where Jacob, the ancient sage and hero, held communion with God, because this ladder was at one of the doors from heaven to earth. And here, at the foot of this ladder, Jacob erected stones of memorial, because there he saw the heavenly high place.

The erection of stones of memorial or testimony was a custom of the most remote antiquity, as of the present time. One need only refer to such a passage as Gen. xxxi. 47 f. in proof of their ancient use in Palestine. To-day one finds such stones of testimony or memorial all over the country. At the point where a Moslem first catches sight of a *weli* or shrine he erects such a pile, saying, "Oh! so-and-so, as I bear testimony to you now, so bear testimony for me in the day of judgment." As you come up the road from the Philistine plain by way of Beth-Horon, at the point where you first catch sight of Jerusalem, there is a great number of such heaps, — more, I think, than I observed at any other one spot.

In shape these pillars of testimony or stones of memorial are identical with the curious natural columns in the stone field north of Bethel. The stones in these pillars of testimony are simply set dry upon one another. They are of different sizes and shapes; sometimes a larger stone is set upon a smaller, but the natural tendency is to taper upward. In shape they are identical with the natural columns in the field north of Bethel, although the latter are many times larger. So exactly, however, do these resemble memorial pillars in shape and general appearance that, unless one examines them closely, one can scarcely be induced to believe that they are not made of separate stones artificially placed one upon the other, but are really the result of erosion of a rock field. To the ordinary eye they present an appearance as though some one with many times the strength of an ordinary

man had piled up huge boulders for pillars of testimony. Precisely this it was which the pre-Israelites and the Israelites believed had been done by Jacob, the mighty hero of the past. When, in the vision of the night, he realized that he was at the foot of the ladder of God, where heaven and earth were joined, he took stones and set them one upon another as pillars of testimony.

Recent excavations at Gezer have made us familiar with one ancient out-of-door temple and have shown us how small a part buildings made with hands played in that ancient worship. It was my good fortune, in 1902, to be present and watch the excavation of that temple by Mr. Macalister. From my notes of September 23, 1902, I extract the following, describing the stone temple as I saw it:

"It commences on the south side with two huge stones, slightly turned one toward the other. Between these is a much smaller phallic stone, rubbed smooth on the top and upper sides by much kissing, touching, and anointing, apparently. This seems to have been the original sacred stone, by which the two huge stones had been set on either side to form, as it were, a sanctuary for it. To the north of these stretched a line of five stones of different sizes, some of them very large and phallic in shape. I can only suggest that these were added from time to time in token of reverence. All about these stones, especially on the western side and near the original phallic stone, were found quantities of phalli of different sizes, almost all of stone. At a lower level and to the east of the stones is a large cave with several openings. - - At one point on this side were burials of infants in jars. - - To the west of the row of pillars, and in front, I think, of the fourth one north from the phallus, was a huge square block of quarried stone, with a square basin in the top. - - The worshippers appear to have approached on the west, and on that side especially were found the votive, or ritual, phalli of stone and pottery."

As at Gezer, so, I fancy, it was at Bethel. Whatever there may have been in the way of original building was insignificant, and played an unimportant part. The stones were the objects of worship; they constituted the temple and its shrines, in which dwelt God or the gods. Somewhere at Bethel I

suppose, stood the golden bull, by which the worship of that sanctuary was technically connected with Yahaweh. There probably were also booths or huts for the accommodation of priests and prophets, but there were no important structures. The worshippers camped about in the open. They came to the stones and presumably touched them with their hands and kissed them. Some one stone, I fancy, was a special *mazzebah*, the others constituting the surrounding shrines or sanctuaries, as at Gezer. At the latter place, as already noted, we can still identify the original *mazzebah*, because it has been rubbed smooth by the anointing, kissing, and handling of the worshippers. But that was protected from the weather under a great mass of earth. The stones of Bethel, through all these ages, have been exposed to wind and weather, and any marks of handling have long since been worn away.

When the nature of the great Israelite temple at Bethel and the character of its worship are once realized, a new significance is given to the frequent use of the word Rock as a title of God in Hebrew literature and particularly in Hebrew poetry, which naturally preserves the older forms and uses.³ Rock worship was, as we know, common in Israel, as it had been through all that region in earlier times, as it was in primitive Greece, in Ireland, England, and in fact among primitive peoples the world over. Sacred stones, in which there was a special presence of God, are still used in many parts of the land, but for Israel this stone worship found its most striking expression and, so to speak, its canonization in Bethel.⁴

If in Bethel we find stone worship canonized, similarly in Dan we find a canonization of the worship of God as the life-giving power, expressing himself in the outpouring of the waters from the deep beneath the earth. I venture again to quote from my diary under date of July 24, 1902, an account of a visit to Tel Kadi and Baniyas:

³ Cf. Ps. xviii. 2, xxviii. 1; Deut. xxxii. 4, 18, 30, 31; 2 Sam. xxii. 32, xxiii. 3; Is. xvii. 10, xlv. 8. Cf. also the proper names in Num. i. 5, 6, 10, iii. 35, xxxiv. 28. Gen. xlix. 24 may be a direct reference to Bethel. If 1 Sam. xxx. 27 really refers to Bethel, then in this case Bethel and Bethgur seem to be synonymous. Cf. LXX.

⁴ For the great sanctity of this place through the whole of preëxilic history cf. Gen. xxxv. 1-16; 1 Sam. vii. 16, x. 3; 1 Ki. xii. 29-33; 2 Ki. ii. 21, 23; Amos vii. 13, and many other passages in Amos and Hosea.

"Tel Kadi was a delightful surprise. It is a hill about 1000 feet long and one-third as wide, rising at the southern end perhaps 70 to 100⁵ feet above the plain, at the northern a little less, and lower in the middle. It is covered with a thick growth of trees. Out of the west side come many springs uniting in one large stream, and out of the very centre of the *tel* gushes a still finer stream with a great roar. The whole air is full of the sound of 'water pipes' calling to one another, as the 42d Psalm has it. That psalm was composed by the side of one of these great rushing, roaring sources of the Jordan, presumably at the ancient temple of Dan, which stood hereabout. Near where this stream throws itself over the edge of the *tel* to the south, by the grave of a Moslem sheikh, under a couple of magnificent terebinth⁶ trees we rested. - - By the side of the stream at the southern end of the *tel* is its highest point, and here are rough remains of older buildings of basalt blocks. But in general the *tel* shows a brown, virgin-colored earth, not the whitish soil characteristic of all old ruin sites in this country. A little over half an hour to the east, up in a nook on a low terrace in the mountain, another spring bursts [or rather several springs] out of the ground in front of a huge cave. These springs are not so impressive in volume as those at Tel Kadi, and the roar and rush is less. On the other side the position, just below a great cave in the side of a cliff, is grand; and this site was holy in the Greek period. A grotto to Pan was cut out by the side of the great cave, above which is a niche for a statue. Two other niches with statues stood a little lower down. Underneath all of these were inscriptions and reliefs cut in the rock; these have been effaced, presumably by the Arabs, but a few letters have been deciphered, enough to show their general purport. Under the niche next west from the grotto I made out, as I thought, a ram. Above the cave, a little to the west, is a Moslem *weli*, showing that the sanctity of the place has lingered on to the present day. It is somewhat of a question whether this rather than Tel Kadi was not the site of the old temple of Dan."

⁵ Authorities give it variously, I find, as from 30 to 78 feet and over, apparently varying according to the point at which they view it. ⁶ Really oak, I believe.

In relation to the site of Dan as of Bethel travellers and writers on the antiquities of Palestine have, I think, been led astray by a false conception of the nature of the remains of the ancient temple and town which were to be sought at that spot. Doubtless the whole neighborhood of the sources was sacred, but I am inclined after most careful consideration ⁷ to think, from the situation itself, as well as from the Bible references, that the Israelite sanctuary was by the great fountain Leddan on Tel Kadi.⁸ George Adam Smith inclines toward Banias, because there is no evidence about Tel Kadi of walls, fortifications, and the like. We should expect them at this site no more than at Bethel. The very essence of this sanctuary was, so to speak, its openness. It was a nature sanctuary.

Bethel plays a large part in Bible story, Dan a small one. That is owing, I presume, not to any inferiority of sanctity in Dan, but to the position of Bethel in relation to Samaria and Jerusalem, especially the latter, the source from which our knowledge of the history and the remains of the literature of Israel is derived. There is, however, one little collection of psalms in which we have, I believe, an echo of the sanctity of Dan, and fragments of the songs which were sung at the great pilgrim festivals held there. Obscured as it is by later revisions made for the purpose of adapting it to the use of the Jerusalem temple, Psalm xlii. still throbs with the memory of the waters and fountains that rush and roar at Dan; and Psalm xlvi., of the same collection of the psalms of the sons of Korah, celebrates the sanctuary whose claim to sanctity was that it lay at the source of "the river whose streams make glad the city of God, the shrine of the dwelling place of the Highest."

⁷ Before visiting the place I had favored the site at Banias. My visit in 1902, when I spent several days in the neighborhood, and my subsequent studies, have caused a change of view.

⁸ Can Tel Kadi be the "little hill" or hill of Mizar in Psalm xlii.?

ASIANIC INFLUENCE IN GREEK MYTHOLOGY

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IN an article contributed to the current volume in honor of Professor Charles A. Briggs, I have attempted to show how the chief Hittite, or Asianic, deities passed over into the Ionian and Greek mythology and kept to a great extent their Oriental form and attributes. I urged that very little influence came either from Phoenicia or from Egypt, and very little directly from either Babylonia or Assyria, but that whatever influence came from Babylonia was transmitted to the Ionian coast through Hittite and Mitannian mediums. Indeed, it is clear, I think, that almost nothing was derived from the Semitic Assyrians, who accepted more from their northern neighbors than they gave.

While special interest attaches to the chief three or four Hittite deities and their transfer to the Greek religion, there are yet other lines of connection which perhaps have not been sufficiently considered, and to some of these it is the purpose of this paper to call attention.

The Greek ideas of the lower world, the world of the dead, deserve some study. They come down to us from the story of the Trojan War. Were they Asianic?

The Greek mythology gives us an underworld where the good live in bliss, and the wicked suffer punishment; where the ruler and judge is Hades, also called Pluto. He sits on his throne as ruler of the shades, holding his sceptre as his mark of authority, and three judges stand by him as assessors, Minos, Aiakos, and Rhadamanthys. He has a wife Persephone, whom he seized by force. There is classical authority for the belief that he was the original god of the Caucones, who dwelt, according to Strabo, on the seacoast of Bithynia

and Paphlagonia; that is, he was an Asianic rather than a Greek divinity. His three assessors, or judges, Minos, Aiakos, and Rhadamanthys, are credited to Crete, where they are said to have lived at a period three generations before the Trojan War. We now know that the flourishing Minoan period of Knossos and Crete, as excavated by Evans and others, goes far back of the Achæan immigration. It had close relations with both Asia Minor and Egypt, the two seats of culture, but developed its own peculiar civilization.

Equally with Greece, the Babylonians placed a god and a goddess in control of the lower world. Their notion of the lower world was much the same as that of the Greeks, but very little like that of the Egyptians. If the Greek doctrine was derived from any outside source, it was from Asia and not from Egypt. Both the Greeks and the Babylonians had their stories of the descent into the lower world. We have that of Ishtar and Hasisadra on the one side, and those of Herakles, Theseus, and Odysseus on the other. Such stories and such beliefs must have had a common origin.

The two rulers of the Greek underworld, Hades (or Pluto) and Persephone, are the parallels to Nergal and Allat as the rulers of the Babylonian realm of the shades. As Nergal obtained his spouse by violence, such was the rape of Persephone by Pluto. The Babylonian story was very old, for we have it apparently figured on two seals of a period as old as the elder Sargon (see Ward, *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, pp. 149-151, figs. 399, 400). In one of these seals Nergal, identified as a god by his solar rays, attacks the bent tree under which Allat sits on her throne; while on the other we have two scenes, one the attack with the axe against the tree, and the other her forced acceptance of him as her spouse. It would seem that there must have been some connection between the two stories and a common origin, yet I do not believe that this Greek mythologic element came directly from Babylonia. It is much more likely that it came in a modified form through the Hittite civilization of Asia Minor.

I have spoken of the three assessor judges, Minos, Aiakos, and Rhadamanthys. In the Egyptian religion there were forty-two such judges, who sat while Thoth weighed the heart

of the dead. It might seem that the Greek court of three judges was derived directly from the Egyptian, but I think not. There were no scales held by Pluto, and the three judges had an authority superior to that of the forty-two Egyptian assessors before whom the dead passed, declaring in the presence of each that he had not been guilty of some specific sin. Once more, I think, we have evidence that the three were derived from an early Asianic source. If we except the two designs already mentioned representing the seizure of Allat by Nergal, I do not remember any clear Babylonian representation of the lower world; for the extraordinary funerary tablet described by Clermont-Ganneau, and several others of the same sort, seem to be very late. But we do have on the seal cylinders several representations of the underworld from the Asianic region and period. In one of these (Seal Cylinders, p. 283, fig. 857), we see the deceased lying on a bier with flames rising from his burning body. Below is the food for his use in the lower world, both meat and drink. The god of the lower world sits on his throne, and a bifrons herald presents three figures, indicated by their peculiar reversed crook, or lituus, as kings. Were this the only case in which we find them, we might not understand what is their relation to the scene; but we again find (*ibidem*, fig. 855) these same three in the same position before the god. In yet another case (fig. 854) the lower register shows the attendant spirits of the lower world bringing food to the ghost of the dead. It is more than probable, I think, that the three royal figures that stand before the seated god correspond to Minos, Aiakos, and Rhadamanthys of the Greek judgment scene.

A word as to Artemis. The many-breasted Diana of the Ephesians is as different as can be conceived from the conventional Greek Artemis, the modest maiden goddess who changed Aktaion to a stag hunted by his own hounds for the crime of having seen her at her bath. That there is an Artemis native to Asia Minor is abundantly recognized, apart from any Greek Artemis; but the two were confused, and the most composite of all Greek deities is Artemis. She is the moon, sister of Apollo, the sun; she is also the daughter of Demeter and identified with Persephone and Hekate, the

goddess of the underworld. She is the modest huntress maiden, and yet is, with Dionysos, honored with obscene dances and orgies. She is the fighting goddess who, as an infant, slew the daughters of Niobe, and who killed giants, and yet, as Eileithyia, she is the goddess of childbirth. She is a complex, arising from the worship of a Greek and autochthonous population of Greece and the Greek islands and that of Asianic peoples. We know of no Asianic goddess of the moon, although we have the Phœnician Astarte.

The familiar Greek Artemis appears to have very little relation to the Diana of the Ephesians whose image fell down from Jupiter. Nor is there any Hittite goddess to whom she seems allied. A winged goddess on a bronze plate from Olympia (Roscher, *sub voce*, 'Artemis,' vol. 1, part 1, col. 564), lifting two lions by the hind foot like Gilgamesh, is called the Asiatic Artemis, because Artemis was the hunter and the protector of wild beasts. The Assyrian Ishtar, who differs from the Babylonian Ishtar, might seem to be related to the Greek Artemis. She is decked with bows and stars, and stands on a lion. To be sure the Ephesian Diana also stands on a lion, but there is no other relation between the two, and there is no clear evidence that Artemis was related to the Assyrian Ishtar, although not improbably the Assyrian Ishtar, standing on a lion, and figured in the same position in Egyptian art as an Asiatic goddess, was related to the Greek goddess of the chase as truly as to the Babylonian Ishtar.

There is a considerable number of cases in which the parallel is so close between the Greek myth and the Oriental myth or art that it seems in every way likely that the later Western was derived from the older Eastern. We who live in a scientific age cannot appreciate the easy credulity with which pictures or sculptures of strange composite beings would lead to the belief that such creatures had actual existence in some distant land. The unicorn was supposed to be a veritable animal simply because the bull was figured in profile with but one horn showing. Unicorns had been carved as stone pictures on temple walls; gods and monsters of all sorts figured on seals and silver bowls carried in trade everywhere; and it was natural to believe that

"a gryphon through the wilderness,

Pursues the Arimasbian, who by stealth
Had from his wakeful custody purloined
The guarded gold."

— MILTON'S *Paradise Lost*, ii. 943.

It did not seem incredible to our ancestors a few generations ago that St. George killed a dragon, yet all the evidence that there were dragons was based on the familiar art that had come down from a hoary antiquity. Art made such "gorgons and hydras and chimeras dire," seem as veritable to them as trolls and giants "and yellow-skirted fays" to our childhood. Why then should not the Ionian Greeks have believed in the actual existence, farther to the East, of the monsters which they saw figured on amulets and seals and in larger form on the friezes of the palaces and temples of the peoples with whom they traded and lived? and why should they not have adopted them into their own mythology and art? Such a composite monster as that from a Syro-Hittite palace at Senjirli, a sphinx springing from the shoulder of a lion, might well have given origin to the Greek chimera slain by Bellerophon, with its second head growing out of the back of a lion.

Whence did the Greeks get their griffins, centaurs, and sphinxes? The griffins were ornaments on vessels in Egypt from the eighteenth to the twentieth dynasties, but they did not originate in Egypt; they originated in Asia, and it was from Asia that they entered into Mycenæan art; we find them familiar in the Hittite period. Neither did they come directly from Babylonia, for the early composite of Babylonia was a monster with the head of a lion and the body of an eagle, while the true griffin has the head of an eagle and the body of a lion. Egypt and Greece both took the griffin from the Hittite culture of Asia Minor.

The centaurs were the youngest of these composite figures. The Greeks had the feeling that they were foreign, and represented them as beaten back by the young Greek Lapithæ, the old order yielding to the new. It was the manful story which Phidias told on the Parthenon. We have the centaur in the art of the Hittite period on two seals (Seal Cylinders,

figs. 631-633), which are not Assyrian. The centaur does not belong to Babylonian or Assyrian art. To be sure, he finally becomes Sagittarius and was placed in the heavens, but that is, I think, comparatively late.

It must not be thought that any sort of composite monster may be devised independently in different regions. Each country has its own. The griffin of the Hittites is a complex of the lion and the eagle different from that of Babylonia. The monsters of Egypt are not those of Babylonia. A sphinx does not originate twice. It is transferred, imported. So a centaur is the product of one national source, and if we find it elsewhere it is adventive. Originating with one of the Asianic peoples, possibly with the Kassites (Seal Cylinders, fig. 21), it spread over Asia Minor to the coasts and was adopted into Greek mythology as truly as the sphinx whose riddle was guessed by Œdipus.

The sphinx is the only one of these composite monsters adopted into Greek mythology which originated in Egypt, where it goes back into the earlier dynasties, and from which country it passed over into the coasts of Asia and thence eastward into Assyria and westward into Greece. In the case of the sphinx, Phœnicia and Syria may well have been the region from which the Greeks, and before them the earlier inhabitants, received the foreign mythological figure; for it was familiar first to the Egyptianized Hauran region (Seal Cylinders, fig. 811), being found on seals that seem to go back of the eighteenth dynasty, and it was common in the later Hittite period. It did not reach Assyria till later, not being familiar there much before the reign of Assurbanipal. It is not characteristic of Mycenæan art, although found on gold ornaments that were probably imported. The Greeks learned of the sphinx later.

In Greek story Atlas supported the heavens on his shoulders, a very curious conceit. But the Hittites had a similar conceit which became familiar also to the Assyrians. It represents the winged disk, Ashur, or Anu, god of heaven, supported by two stalwart human-headed bulls, doubled for symmetry. We have it on the famous procession of Boghaz-keui, and it is often repeated. The figure of the bull is that of Eabani, friend of Gilgamesh, and we remember that

Herakles, the Greek Gilgamesh, was the friend of Atlas, and on one occasion took for a while Atlas's load. For the Greek myth of Atlas it is likely that we can find the source in the Hittite supporters of the winged disk which represents the god of Heaven, the Aryan Varuna.

The phoenix is by its very name Asianic, although classical writers also assigned its origin to Egypt. Herodotos relates it to Arabia, and adds that the Assyrians call it phoenix. It was often referred to Ethiopia; but by Ethiopia was meant the Cush, or Kash, of Elam. One would like to find the phoenix in Oriental as well as in classical art. Very likely we have it, but while in the vast multitude of classical objects of art we find the phoenix distinctly represented building his nest for his incineration and resurrection, or already in the flames, we have only one cylinder (Seal Cylinders, p. 352) with a Sabæan inscription, from Arabia or from Arabian influence, which appears to represent the phoenix. It is evidently a mythical bird, of composite form. I do not know that the phoenix appears in either the old Babylonian or in the later Assyrian art. To be sure, we have the composite bird with the lion's head which is known as the eagle of Lagash, and in the Assyrian art the ostrich and various composite birds take the place of the dragon with which Bel Marduk fights or which guards the tree of life; but none of these seem to suggest the phoenix. Equally we miss it in the literature of Assyria so far as that is recovered; but I am inclined to find it on the broken Sabæan seal referred to. It is an importation into Greece from the East, but not through the usual Ionian channel.

Dionysos, or Bakchos, was held to be a Thracian god, and was also worshipped in Phrygia, for the Phrygians and Thracians were near neighbors. In the earlier worship of Dionysos he was not distinctively the god of the vine; Homer does not know him as such. Although we have no definite knowledge how he happened to assume that rôle, we may conjecture that it was through a Hittite influence; for we have one figure of a locally worshipped Hittite god, not one of the principal gods, carved on a rock at Ibriz and nowhere else found, who corresponds exactly to the more familiar character of Dionysos. He appears all

girdled with grapes and holding as a staff tall stalks of grain. He would be instantly recognized as Dionysos but for the accompanying old Hittite inscription. We may think of him as the original of the Greek deity of the vine, who as such was a comparatively late god.

The old Roman Janus is a bifrons. The earliest knowledge we have of a bifrons is from archaic Babylonian art, where, by a naïve convention, the divine attendant of a superior god leads in a worshipper or a criminal for judgment before Shamash; and one face turns with respect to the seated god, while the other watches the personage behind him. I would not believe that any Latin people had any knowledge of the art of that early period, but the convention was continued in the northern regions (Seal Cylinders, figs. 854-857), and Hittite art shows the same convention in a region from which it might well have been transferred to the settlers of the Ionian coasts and thence to Magna Græcia and the Etruscans, — for Janus was the oldest of all the Latin gods.

We have the Greek story of Ganymedes taken up to heaven by an eagle to be the companion of the gods. Ganymedes was the son of Tros, and brother of Ilos and Assarakos. Now those names, Tros, Ilos, and Assarakos, are suspiciously Asiatic, or even Semitic, and the story of his being carried to heaven by an eagle is surprisingly like the story of Etana lifted to heaven by an eagle. This story of Etana is several times represented in Babylonian art (Seal Cylinders, p. 144). We see him astride the eagle mounting to heaven, while the two dogs which helped him in herding his sheep gaze upward to watch his flight, just as on a Greek design Ganymedes' hunting dog looks up in wonder to see him taken by the eagle. I do not put any weight on the presence of the dogs in both, and in the same attitude, for the dog was equally the companion of the shepherd and the hunter; yet the Greek myth might seem to have its origin in that of Babylonia. The known representations of the ascent of Etana belong to an early period of Babylonian art, probably from 2500 to 3000 B.C.; but that the Ionian Greek may have borrowed the kernel of the Babylonian story is made plausible by the fact that it is told on tablets from the library of Assurbanipal nearly 2000 years later. The related

story of Adapa and the eagle was a schoolboy's tale found with the Tel-el-Amarna tablets.

The very curious design shown in the work cited, fig. 643, of a god or hero slaying a female monster, instantly suggests the exploit of Perseus in beheading the Gorgon Medusa. There would be no question of this if it were found on a Greek vase instead of on a seal cylinder. I do not assume to judge with any certainty of its age, for the type is too unusual to be compared with objects of known age; but probably it is of a period as early as 600 to 800 B.C. Even so, it is early to be borrowed from Greece, and it is not likely that it was engraved under Greek influence. We see the Gorgon, if it be she, with strangely divided feet, and we remember that in Greek art her limbs may end in serpents, or she may even be a centaur. The attacking figure, like Perseus, has his head turned back, as if to escape her stony gaze; and he carries a sickle-like weapon. It is a question whether we have here the original of the Greek myth of Perseus, or one of the representations in Asianic art of the Gigantomachia.

The myth of the war against the Giants seems to be Asianic rather than Greek. It is the Oriental Herakles who overthrows them. The very fact of a war of the gods implies that an old order and religion were being overturned by a new, just as the Greek god Zeus overthrew Kronos, who was very likely Pelasgian, and who bore the *ἀσπη*, the sickle-shaped sword, which came from the East. We seem to have the Giants in old Asianic art, and we are told of one of the most ancient of them that he came from Cilicia. I have said that the scene previously mentioned may be meant to give us an Asianic myth like that of Perseus killing the Gorgon, rather than a war with the Giants; but there are others that cannot represent the Gorgon. Such is fig. 642 of the same work, where two gods attack a giant-like figure which is possibly, but not probably, feminine. The attacking figures are seen to be gods by the bows tipped with circles on their shoulders, like those of Adad, and they bear the axe of Adad. In another case, fig. 644, the kneeling giant figure is distinctly bearded. The attitude on the knee is precisely the same as that of the supposed Gorgon; but that

may have been required by the necessity of representing the attacked figure as superior in size to his conqueror; there was not room for him to stand upright. These seals do not seem to be Assyrian, but belong to some one of the outlying provinces. We may well have here an early Asianic representation of the Gigantomachia.

The discovery that the Hittites spoke an Aryan language and that they ruled Asia Minor and Syria and Phœnicia from a period long before the Greek theogony was developed, requires us to reconsider all our old notions that the Oriental influence which entered into the Greek religion was Phœnician. It may have been Aryan. The influence of Phœnicia has been vastly exaggerated. Its colonies were much later than has been supposed, for the great freebooter sailors up to 1200 or 1400 B.C. were from the southern coasts of Asia Minor. It is the influence of Asia Minor on Greek religion and mythology as against Phœnicia, and hence of an Aryan rather than a Semitic influence, which it has been the purpose of this paper to illustrate, while showing that the East has a considerably larger influence on Greek religion and art than has usually been recognized. Such deities as Kronos, Poseidon, Ares, Dionysos, and Aphrodite, and many other personages in Hellenic mythology, are doubtless wholly or partly Oriental, while others, like Zeus, Apollo, Athena, and Pan, are Hellenic.

In this discussion I have recognized very little Egyptian influence. In early times the Egyptian influence must have been very slight in Greece or in the neighboring islands. The seafaring traders were not Egyptians; the Egyptians established no colonies nearer than the Hauran and the Canaanite coast. What Egyptian influence entered in was earlier through the Hauran, and later through Phœnicia; and I suspect that the story of Medea offering to bring to life the old king Pelias after he had been cut to pieces by his daughters was related to the primitive Egyptian method of cutting up the bodies of the dead. We find it in the story which tells how Osiris was cut in pieces by the wicked Set, and the pieces brought together by Isis and Horus, and Osiris thus reconstituted and brought to his throne.

To the Egyptians of old the Greeks were mere children,

late comers on the stage of history. To our modern vision they are the upper and nearest stratum of the pre-Christian civilization, one that, as in geologic evolution, has developed and improved the forms of life that had appeared in the strata below it. The excavating spade has brought to light these unknown lower stages of racial culture. As the present horse is evolved out of the older hipparion, and that out of an earlier eohippus, so the Greek gods and the Greek myths, with all their fascinations, have risen out of lower and coarser myths and gods of older races and times. All the culture of the various East was gathered into the Greek soul and there clarified and illuminated by the new element of beauty; so that the new supreme civilization, having reached its highest intellectual perfection, and needing nothing more except the spiritual impulse to be caught from David and Jesus, should mightily spread and diffuse itself over the continents and flow down all the succeeding ages. Greece was the child of all the cultures that had gone before. From her we inherit them all, and it is for us to search the garrets and cellars for our heirlooms. As was said of the celestial Jerusalem, Athens is free and is the mother of us all. We all trace our descent from that little peninsula, scarce noted on the world's map, but the omphalos of the *οἰκουμένη*, the sacred, central, perennial spring of all succeeding civilizations.

THE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL AT NISIBIS¹

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THE Arian controversy had led the church to affirm the union of God and man in Christ, but the relation of the divine and human natures to each other and to the personality of Christ was left unsettled. Arius, like Lucian of Antioch before him, had denied that Christ had a human soul; the (created) Logos assumed a body without a soul (σῶμα ἄψυχον). His opponent, Athanasius, in the zeal of his contention for the divine, uncreated Logos, identical in essence with the Father, expressed himself similarly: "As the Logos is from eternity God and Son, so by the assumption of flesh from the Virgin (the Mother of God, Θεοτόκος), he became also man." Marcellus is more explicit: the Logos is the Ego in the personality of Christ; the human nature which is the organ and substratum of the Logos is impersonal.

Apollinaris, on the basis of the Platonic trichotomy, taught that man consists of a material body, an animal soul, the principle of life, and a mind or spirit (νοῦς), the principle of wisdom and self-determination. If then the Logos be supposed to unite with a complete man, there would be in Christ two principles of self-determination, two free wills, and consequently two persons between which no true union exists. Accordingly he held that in Christ the Logos fills the place of the rational soul.

Against these theories of a mutilated human nature in

¹ The statutes of the School at Nisibis were published by I. Guidi, *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*, 4 (1890), 165-195. German translation by E. Nestle, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 18 (1897-1898), 211-229.

Chabot, J.-B., *L'Ecole de Nisibe, son histoire, ses statuts*. *Journal Asiatique*, Neuvième Série, 8 (1896), 48-93.

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Christ — Arian or Apollinarian — the Antiochian School contended for a complete humanity,² including free will, and gave to the historical Christ a place in theology from which the development of Christological dogma was step by step excluding him. Diodorus of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia laid stress upon the development of Jesus, not only in body but in mind and character (Luke ii. 52); on the reality of his temptations; the evidence of human weakness, fear, and suffering of mind and body; the limitations of his knowledge. They held that he was in fact sinless, but would not admit that it was by the constitution of his nature impossible for him to sin. A human nature without a rational soul and all that that implies is not really human nature. The mode of union, for which the word *συνάφεια* is employed, they admit to be undefinable; but they could only conceive the indwelling of God in Christ as analogous to his indwelling in prophets and apostles and godly men, although in Christ this indwelling was so complete as to constitute a unique being. The divine and the human in him preserved each its full integrity and distinctive characteristics, so that the union was rather moral than physical or substantial, and was thus progressively realized, becoming more intimate with time, and in the end inseparable. The dwelling of God in the man Jesus was neither *κατ' οὐσίαν* nor *κατ' ἐνέργειαν* but *κατ' εὐδοκίαν*. A real transfer or interchange of the predicates of the two natures they would not acknowledge. It would be perfectly correct, Theodore says, to speak, not merely of two natures, but of two persons, in Christ, for a being (*ὑπόστασις*) is not perfect except as a person. Their position here may be better appreciated by contrasting it with a writing attributed to Athanasius which speaks of "the *one* enfleshed nature of the God-Logos." Their emphasis on self-determination as the essence of personality logically led the

² Other opponents of Apollinarius, such as the Gregories, and Athanasius himself (in 362 A.D.), also give Christ a rational soul, but — with a manifest trend toward monophysite theories (and in Hilary with a docetic tendency) — taught that the humanity is penetrated by divinity or assumed into it in such a way as to become one with it by a *ἑνωσις φυσική* (Athanasius). So Cyril, in the Nestorian controversy, maintained that the Logos assumed the human nature into the unity of his being without undergoing change, so that there was one indivisible subject; the union was with the human nature, not with a human individuality.

Antiochians to take the Pelagian side in the Western controversy.

The doctrine of Nestorius is essentially the same as that of Theodore. When he went to Constantinople as Patriarch, in 428, he found notions of the person of Christ current which logically implied Apollinarian premises and were irreconcilable with his true and full humanity. The conflict was precipitated by a sermon of Anastasius, the private secretary of Nestorius, who had accompanied him from Antioch, in which the preacher objected to the application of the epithet *Θεοτόκος*, Mother of God, to the Virgin: "She was but a woman. It is impossible for God to be born of a human being." In the commotion which followed, Nestorius warmly supported Anastasius. "How," he wrote, "can Mary be *Θεοτόκος*? Has God a mother? Then the heathen must be right who give their gods mothers, and Paul a liar who says of the divinity of Christ that he was *ἀπάντω καὶ ἀμήτωρ*. Mary did not bear God, a creature bear the uncreated, but she bore a human being who is the organ of divinity." The union of the divine nature and the human implied no deification of the human nature.

Cyril of Alexandria became the leader of the attack upon Nestorius. As a result of his unscrupulous tactics, with the support of the Bishop of Rome, Coelestine, the Council of Ephesus (431 A.D.) proceeded not only to condemn the teaching of Nestorius, but to depose him. But inasmuch as the teaching of Nestorius was not essentially different from that of Diodorus and Theodore, the condemnation tacitly involved these venerated teachers, and did not readily find acceptance in the Syrian schools, where their influence was greatest. Bishop Rabulas, a vehement champion of the decrees of Ephesus, found himself constrained in 431 or 432 to remove the teachers of the great theological school at Edessa for maintaining, in accordance with the tradition of the school, the views of Theodore; but under his successor, Ibas (Bishop in 435), the school was reopened, and the same doctrines were again heard in its lecture-rooms, until finally, in 489, at the instance of Bishop Cyrus, the Emperor Zeno closed it altogether as a well-spring of heresy. The expulsion of the Nestorian ecclesiastics by Rabulas (431) drove

some of them across the border into Persian territory, among them Barsumas, who shortly after became Bishop of Nisibis (435-489). The fact that the Nestorians were persecuted in the Roman Empire was sufficient reason why they should be favored by the Persians; and in the first period of this favor Nestorian Christianity gained ground rapidly in Persia, partly at the expense of the orthodox, partly by conversions from Mazdaism.

The closing of the school of Edessa in 489 drove the professors and students to Nisibis, where they were cordially received by Barsumas, and the fame and influence of the school there dates from this time. Its first head was Narses, who had a great reputation as scholar and saint; his successors worthily followed in his footsteps, and at the end of the sixth century, when the school had reached its highest point, it numbered about eight hundred students. Other schools were established, at Seleucia for example, but none of them rivalled Nisibis, which was for two centuries or more the principal institution for the training of the clergy of Persia and of the Nestorian missionaries who carried Christianity to the remotest quarters of Asia. Its decline is coincident with the general decay of Christianity in the East, but only in the ninth century did it yield the preëminence to the school at Bagdad, the capital of the Caliphate.

The statutes of the school at Nisibis at two periods in its history have been preserved; those adopted in 496, shortly after its foundation, and reaffirmed in 530, and new regulations from the year 590. Inasmuch as it is the only institution of the kind with whose organization we are acquainted, these statutes are of considerable interest.

The school was a corporation, with various privileges and a considerable degree of self-government, though subject ultimately to the authority of the Bishop. The Superior was chosen from the professors, among whom the Professor of Biblical Exegesis was the first in rank. The administration was committed to a Superintendent elected annually by the convocation of the members of the college, who fulfilled the duties of a steward, dean, and librarian; but in important matters he was required to obtain the approval of a Council consisting of the Superior and the leading brethren.

Like institutions for the training of the clergy in the West until a comparatively recent time, the school at Nisibis resembled a monastic foundation. The students, and doubtless the teachers, lived in the college, and many of the rules in the statutes regulate this common life. By the supplementary statutes, non-collegiate students are allowed to live in private quarters in the city when there is not room enough for them in the college. Students were admitted after satisfying the Superintendent and the Council of their fitness and being made acquainted with the statutes — a kind of matriculation; the statutes were also publicly read once a year. The entrants promised to remain unmarried; students who married during their course of study were expelled.

The course of theological study lasted three years, with a vacation of three months, from August to October. The instruction was free, but the students had to provide for their living out of their private means or to earn it by working in vacation. Those unable to work might receive aid from the Superintendent so far as he had means at his disposal; begging from house to house was, however, strictly prohibited. In term time students were not allowed to undertake any occupation, lest it should withdraw them from their studies; even tutoring boys in the city was forbidden. During the vacation they might work at an honest handicraft in the city of Nisibis itself; but if they engaged in merchandising of any kind, it must be outside the city, in order, probably, not to infringe upon the privileges of the tradesmen's guilds.

Study hours were long. At cockcrow the students took their places in the study hall, and spent the entire day copying books, hearing lectures, and learning to intone the services. After chapel in the evening they were obliged to retire to their rooms. Talking about ordinary affairs or making a disturbance in the schoolroom was punished by removal. Idling was visited with reproof; and if that did not work an amendment, relegation followed. Professors who, without permission of the President or without urgent cause such as illness, omitted their lectures, had their salary reduced and were excluded from the Council. Students had to take their meals in common in their quarters; they were forbidden to eat in bakeshops or inns, to spend the night in the

city, and to take part in picnics or garden parties. The sick were cared for by their companions in their rooms or in an infirmary which was later established. Students were enjoined to pay attention to their personal appearance; when they went into the city they must be decently and modestly clothed; they must neither shave off all their hair, nor wear it in the long frizzed locks which were affected by the young dandies of the time.

The order of studies is not defined in the statutes. A regulation which has often been quoted in this connection really refers only to the copying of the Scriptures and practice in reciting the liturgy. In the first year students copied the Book of Paul (that is, as Kihn plausibly surmises, the lectures on Biblical Introduction of which we shall have to speak later) and the Pentateuch; in the second year, the Psalms and the Prophets; in the third, the New Testament; and in each year, also, one-third of the second division of the Nestorian Old Testament, the so-called *mauthābē*. If every student was required to copy the entire Bible during his course for his own use — church copies would of course be made by professional scribes — the ministry of the Nestorian church must have been better provided than any other at that time.

About the character of the instruction we know a good deal from other sources. The Nestorians made themselves the heirs of Antiochian Biblical scholarship. Theodore of Mopsuestia was for them "the exegete"; at Nisibis his authority was indeed in later time so great that for a professor to contradict his interpretation was sufficient ground for removal.

The first distinguished name in the school of Antioch is that of the bishop and martyr Lucian (died in 311 or 312), whose fame rests upon his work as critic and editor of the text of both Old and New Testaments. The great period in its history opens with Diodorus (died 394), who long taught at Antioch before he became Bishop of Tarsus (378). Among his hearers were Chrysostom (died 407); Theodore (died 428) and his brother Polychronius; Isidore of Pelusium (died 434), from whom we have the best exposition of the hermeneutics of the school. Nestorius (died 440) was a pupil

of Theodore; and Theodoret (died 457), a pupil of Chrysostom and Theodore — the catalogue includes the greatest exegetes of the Greek church.

In opposition to the Alexandrians, who followed Clement and Origen and cultivated the allegorical-mystical method of interpretation of which the Jewish theologian Philo was the great exemplar, depreciating the literal and historical sense, the Antiochians developed the principles of a rational exegesis. It is the business of the interpreter, in the use of all the means which philology and history put in his hands, to find out the literal sense which is everywhere present in Scripture, the meaning of the author. They recognize that the language of Scripture is often figurative, but to explain the meaning of figures of speech is part of the literal interpretation. In many persons and events in the Old Testament they saw types of the New Testament dispensation which may be regarded as prophecies in fact;³ but the historical reality and significance of the events is not evaporated, as it is by allegorists. The predilection of these scholars for Aristotle, especially for his logical and methodological writings, appears in their hermeneutics, as the influence of his rational philosophy is dominant in their theology, while the Alexandrians Platonize and Philonize.

Theodore of Mopsuestia represents the tendencies of the Antiochian school in their freest development. In his exegesis the historico-critical side is especially developed, and in the field of what is called the higher criticism he displays both acumen and boldness. He rejected, for example, the titles of the Psalms as no part of the inspired text and as historically worthless, and attempted, in the same way as modern critics and to some extent with the same results, to refer the individual Psalms on internal evidence to particular periods or circumstances. Seventeen Psalms are thus referred to the Maccabæan times; only nineteen to David and his age. Direct predictions of Christ he admits in but four Psalms, though many others contain typical prophecies of the Messianic age or the future consummation. It would be interesting to compare Theodore on these points with

³ It has been remarked that their attitude resembles in many ways that of the "Federal" school of theologians.

Calvin, "the exegete" of the Reformation, who had in other ways no slight affinity with Theodore.

Theodore's views on the canon are radical. He not only excludes the books of the Old Testament which Protestants call the Apocrypha, along with Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, which the Syrian churches never received, but he did not acknowledge the inspiration of Job, in which he saw a drama patterned after Greek models. The Song of Solomon, which he also rejected, was an altogether secular poem, composed for Solomon's wedding with the Egyptian princess, and as a defence or excuse for his conduct in that matter.

Theodore recognized different kinds and degrees of inspiration. The inspiration of Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus, for example, was very different from that of the prophets: "*Proverbia et Ecclesiastica, quae ipse (sc. Salomo) ex sua persona ad aliorum utilitatem composuit, cum prophetiae quidem gratiam non accepisset, prudentiae vero gratiam, quae evidenter altera est praeter illam secundum beati Pauli vocem (1 Cor. xii. 8).*" Sound advice for getting on in the world is a very different thing from the revelation of the Kingdom of God. These propositions were condemned by the Second Council of Constantinople.

The Antiochian theory of prophecy was not only more rational than the Platonic-mantic doctrine of inspiration in the Alexandrian Fathers, but was a sounder interpretation of the phenomena, and more just to the historical significance of prophecy and its end in the economy of revelation; and among the Antiochians Theodore gives the clearest and sanest exposition and application of the principles. Every prophecy was given in a particular historical situation, and in its primary significance and application has to do with the prophet's present and the immediate future. But prophecy has also a remoter motive and end, to prepare the way for the Kingdom of God, for the coming of Christ and the redemption of mankind, and beyond that for the glorious fulfilment in the world to come. The twofold meaning of prophecy is not properly a double sense; the Messianic fulfilment is pragmatically connected in the divine plan with the events of the prophet's time. "Thus the prophecies set

forth conditions and events which are organically related to one another, for the purpose of furthering the development of the Kingdom of God on earth and bringing to realization the divine plan for the redemption of all mankind."⁴

The historical interpretation of prophecy is therefore the first task of the interpreter; the historical understanding is the premise of the Messianic interpretation. In his commentary on the Minor Prophets Theodore applies these principles with intelligence and sobriety. In many prophecies which the Fathers in general took as plain predictions of Christ, he finds neither a direct nor a typical Messianic sense, but refers them exclusively to events in the history of Israel.

In his views on the mode of prophetic inspiration, Theodore is equally sane. There are in both the Old Testament and the New instances of ecstasy with complete suppression of the prophet's consciousness, the impressions of sense and the activities of his intelligence being alike inhibited; but the ordinary mode of revelation is an inner illumination, the Holy Spirit awaking in the inmost soul of the prophet thoughts and images by a spiritual perception, without sensible forms, so that the (inner) "vision" is equivalent to the "word of the Lord," which itself is no audible communication, but an inner experience.

By singular good fortune, a course of lectures on Biblical Introduction by a professor in the school at Nisibis has been preserved under the name of Junilius Africanus. The manner of its transmission is interesting. The dedicatory preface is addressed to Primasius, who was Bishop of Adrumetum in North Africa in the middle of the sixth century. The writer, Junilius, was not, as was formerly supposed, a bishop, but a jurist, and an official at the court of the Emperor Justinian, where he filled the high office of Quaestor Sacri Palatii. On a visit to Constantinople, Primasius had asked Junilius whether there was any one among the Greeks who was conspicuous in Biblical science. Junilius replied that he had met a certain Paul, a Persian (*i.e.* a subject of the Persian empire), who had been educated in the school of the

⁴ Kihn, p. 97 f.

Syrians at Nisibis, "where instruction in the divine law is systematically and regularly given by public professors, as among us grammar and rhetoric are taught as branches of secular learning." Junilius had obtained from him a textbook on hermeneutics which he was accustomed to give in the form of lectures to his students at the beginning of their course as an introduction to the study of Scripture. Of this book Junilius sent Primasius a Latin translation in catechetic form, under the title *Instituta Regularia Divinae Legis*.

Biblical science, so the treatise begins, has two branches, one of which deals with the form, the other with the content, of Scripture — we should say, Biblical Criticism and Biblical Theology. The problems of Biblical Criticism may be grouped under five heads: 1, the class of literature to which a book belongs — historical, prophetic, gnomic, didactic; 2, the authority of the book; 3, its authorship; 4, its literary form — poetry or prose; 5, its place in the economy of revelation — Old Testament, New Testament.

These topics are taken in order. After concisely defining history as the narration of past or contemporary events, the author enumerates the historical books of both Testaments. Besides the seventeen historical books which he acknowledges, "many include Chronicles (two books), Job, Tobit, Ezra (with Nehemiah), Judith, Esther, two Books of Maccabees," which the author denies a place in the canon because they are not acknowledged by Jews.⁵ Prophecy is defined as the disclosure by divine inspiration of things otherwise unknown, whether past, present, or future. Among the prophetic Scriptures the Psalms are reckoned. The prophets are arranged, not in the order of the Greek Bible, but chronologically, Hosea, Isaiah, Joel, Amos, and so on, ending with Malachi. The Orientals have grave doubts about the canonicity of the Revelation of John.⁶ To the gnomic literature belong the Proverbs of Solomon and the Song of Songs.⁷ In the last category, didactic,

⁵ There is some inaccuracy about this statement. Jerome, who is quoted, refers only to the Apocrypha. Perhaps Junilius is at fault.

⁶ This is cautiously worded, perhaps, by Junilius. A Syrian would have expressed himself more positively about a book which his church had never accepted.

⁷ Ecclesiastes is not mentioned in either class.

the Epistles of James, Second Peter, Jude, Second and Third John, are included "by very many"; the author himself does not rank them as canonical.

The author's teaching on the authority of Scripture is a corollary of his views on the canon: of perfect authority are the unquestioned canonical books; of qualified authority the books which the author, with the Nestorians generally, did not accept, but which some branches of the church included in the canon; other books reputed inspired were of no authority whatever. The distinction between the authority of books universally accepted and those whose canonicity was disputed is made also by Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*, ii. 8, and anticipates the classification of Scripture as *canonic* and *deuterocanonic* by Sixtus Senensis and later Catholic scholars.

Passing to the second branch of Biblical science, Biblical Theology, the relation of the Old Testament to the New in the economy of revelation is thus defined: the purpose of the Old Testament is to point to the New by figures and foretellings, of the New to kindle men's souls to the glory of eternal blessedness.

The law of God is either the law of conscience within man, or is disclosed in nature, providence, and history, or finally, is given by God in the form of statute. The last is either immutable, *e.g.* the love of God and our neighbor, or transient, such as circumcision or the rules about the gathering of manna. Some laws are profitable in themselves, some necessary on account of others; some are carnal, like the Jewish distinctions of clean and unclean, others spiritual; some are peculiar to the Old Testament, some to the New, others again, such as *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God*, are common to both.

The subject of prediction and prophetic types is treated at some length. A type may be defined as a real prophecy, a prophecy in things or facts, in distinction from a prophecy in words; for example, the resurrection of our Lord and his abiding in heaven is a type of our resurrection, and points to the future habitation of the righteous in heaven; the ark of Noah is a figure of the church, and the like. Predictions are classified somewhat minutely, especially the Messianic

prophecies and those referring to the calling of the Gentiles.

In the last chapters the author sets forth the familiar proofs of the inspiration of Scripture—among which, however, the *testimonium internum Spiritus Sancti* is not included—and the norm for the understanding of Scripture. The latter may be quoted as an example of the author's sound hermeneutic principles: What is said must be suitable to the speaker, and must accord with the reasons for which it is said; it must be congruous with the time, the place, the stage of revelation, and the purpose. The purpose of the divine teaching in Scripture is defined by our Lord, viz. that we should love God with all our heart and soul, and our neighbors as ourselves. Not to love God or our neighbor is therefore a repudiation of Christian doctrine (*doctrinae . . . corruptio est e contrario deum non amare vel proximum*). The root of evil is the abuse of freedom: "*Quia dum libero arbitrio a deo bene concesso inordinate utuntur, rationales creaturae et malitiae et poenae causa sibi met existerunt.*" With Theodore of Mopsuestia, the notion of original sin is here rejected.

The Nestorian church in the sixth century seems to have been in advance of any other branch of the church in the systematic education of its ministry by a three years' course in an institution exclusively devoted to theological study. In its instruction the Bible had the central place; in its faculty the Professor of Biblical Exegesis held the first rank. Sound principles of interpretation prevailed, and critical opinions were freely uttered which would not have been tolerated in our own seminaries a generation ago—and in many of them are not tolerated now. In the Catholic church, after the condemnation of the Nestorians, the Biblical science as well as the theology of the Antiochian school was under a cloud; here also the Alexandrians triumphed. The critical views of Theodore were condemned, along with others, by the Second Council of Constantinople (533, The Three Chapters); his works were zealously sought out and destroyed. Only among the Nestorians, beyond the bounds of the Empire, were his writings cherished, only there did his rational method survive.

Through Junilius' translation, Paul's compendious and lucid Introduction to the Study of the Scriptures had, however, considerable influence in the West. Cassiodorus, whose services as a statesman in his own time are not more conspicuous than his efforts to keep the lamps of sacred and profane learning aflame in the night of barbarism that was settling upon Italy, in his *De Institutione Divinarum Literarum*, which in many ways resembles Junilius' *Instituta Regularia*, names Junilius among the authors of treatises on Introduction, and in the institution which he founded at Viviers, "an asylum of literature and the liberal arts," may well have had the great school at Nisibis in mind. Through the Middle Ages, the compend of Junilius along with that of Cassiodorus was used as a text-book. Junilius was supposed to be an orthodox bishop, and the very unorthodox teaching of the book does not seem to have disturbed anybody. The authority of Augustine, however, who in his *De Doctrina Christiana* laid down a method of interpretation not essentially different from Origen's, neutralized the influence of the sounder principles of the Antiochian scholar as well as the critical tradition represented by Jerome.

THE TRANSLATIONS MADE FROM THE ORIGINAL ARAMAIC GOSPELS

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THE question of the original language (or languages) of the Synoptic Gospels, or rather, of the documentary sources which underlie them, is just now being earnestly discussed. This is the question which perhaps occupies the central point of interest in the present study of the New Testament text. Recent investigations, or essays bearing on the subject, fall naturally into two main groups: those which approach the matter from the Semitic side, and those which come to it from the side of a fresh study of Hellenistic Greek.

On the one hand, the progress of Semitic studies has at last made it seem possible to attack these most difficult problems with good hope of partial success. Owing to the accumulation of important new material, and to the help given by more thorough linguistic investigation, we have been gaining in recent years a greater familiarity with the Aramaic idioms of Palestine, as well as with classical Hebrew. Much that was uncertain only a short time ago is now firm standing ground. The important equipment of the present-day investigator from this side, however, does not so much consist in the more exact knowledge of the Semitic languages, and especially of Aramaic, as it does in a clearer understanding of the literary problems involved, and of the whole historical situation in which the first Christian writings appear. It is not because of advance along any one line, but along many lines of investigation, that important scraps of evidence, often too minute to seem worthy of serious notice, are now readily recognized and used, which a generation ago could hardly have been either observed or interpreted correctly. It is, therefore, a fact of considerable significance that an increasing number of Semitic scholars

are holding more or less positively the theory of written Semitic sources underlying at least a considerable part of the Synoptic Gospels.

On the other hand, we have recently gained a very much increased knowledge of the Hellenistic Greek which was spoken and written at about the beginning of the Christian era. Thanks especially to the great finds of papyri which have been made in Egypt, a flood of light has been thrown upon the *κοινή*, both in its various dialects and in the characteristics which it exhibits in all parts of the modern Greek-speaking world. The result, for the study of the New Testament in particular, has been a most important one. Much of what had long been characterized as 'New Testament Greek' or 'Biblical Greek' is now found to have been in common use elsewhere. Many peculiarities of vocabulary and syntax which had been supposed to be due to the influence of the Greek Old Testament or to that of Hebrew or Aramaic dialects spoken in Palestine, are now shown to have existed in regions and under circumstances where no such influence could have been at work, and we are led to conclude that these idioms belong to the inner development of the vulgar Greek itself.

So far as the question of the original language of the Synoptic Gospels is concerned, however, the situation has not suffered any such change as some appear to believe. The most of those students of the New Testament who have discussed the phenomena brought to light by the widening of the horizon of late Greek have failed to make any careful distinction between the Greek of Paul and that of Matthew, or between that in which the Epistle to the Hebrews is written and that of the Apocalypse. Many who had been favorably disposed towards the theory of Semitic sources in the Synoptic Gospels have abandoned that view, and express their belief that "New Testament Greek" possesses *no* peculiarities not shared by the profane Greek in ordinary use at that time. There are thus, at present, two rival camps, the one insisting on the evidences of translation which appear in the first three Gospels, or elsewhere in the New Testament, and the other denying the existence of such evidence. The great majority of New Testament

scholars, it may be added, seem to belong to neither one of these two parties, but content themselves with saying that while it is quite possible that Aramaic or Hebrew documents may have formed the basis of our Gospels, or of a portion of the Acts, or of the Apocalypse, the fact cannot be demonstrated at any point with absolute certainty. The question of translation, they say, though interesting, is purely academic, and so far as assured practical results are concerned it is of little or no use to try to go behind our Greek sources in the oldest form of them which we can reconstruct from evidence of manuscripts and versions.

Some very industrious students of the whole problem have concluded, in view of the new evidence, that the hypothesis of Aramaic documents rendered into Greek is not only unnecessary but untenable. Deissmann's *Bibelstudien* was influential in this direction, though it was not directly concerned with the main question, but merely contributed material. Wernle, in his *Synoptische Frage* (1899), puts it down as a "still unshaken fact" (*eine immer noch unerschütterte Thatsache*) that our Gospels *and their written sources* were originally Greek. There has been, however, no thoroughgoing discussion of the matter from either side; indeed, it may fairly be said that thorough treatment of the material in hand can hardly be expected at present. There has been but one noteworthy presentation of the case from the Semitic side, namely that of Wellhausen, in his *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien* (first ed., 1905), supplemented by the notes accompanying his translation of the Synoptic Gospels. Wellhausen's investigation, it is needless to say, is masterly so far as it goes; it might, however, have been carried much further and made more convincing. I shall often have occasion to refer to it in the sequel.

One thing that has made, and is still making, a good deal of confusion in the discussion of these questions is a careless use of terms. The comprehensive phrase 'New Testament Greek' is still used very much too loosely, as though all of the documents which make up this collection of writings were written in one and the same approximately homogeneous idiom.

To take one or two examples: Professor J. H. Moulton in *The*

Expositor, 1904, p. 68, after speaking of the exploded theory that "the New Testament writers" wrote in a Greek which derived its peculiarities chiefly from the Greek Old Testament and from the influence of the vernacular Aramaic, goes on to say: "And now all this has vanished, for Biblical Greek is isolated no more. Great collections of Egyptian papyri published with amazing rapidity by the busy explorers who have restored to us so many lost literary treasures during the last decade have shown us that the farmer of the Fayum spoke a Greek essentially identical with that of the Evangelists. The most convincing 'Hebraisms' appear in the private letters of men who could never have been in contact with Semitic influences." And on p. 67: "The disappearance of that word 'Hebraic' from our definitions marks a revolution in the conception of the language in which the New Testament is written." And, again, on p. 74: "But the papyri have finally disposed of the assumption that the New Testament was written in any other Greek than the language of the common people throughout the Greek-speaking lands."¹

But what is "Biblical Greek"? And what is the "language in which the New Testament is written"? If the question of possible Semitic sources for parts of the New Testament is to be discussed seriously, this is a very bad way to begin. So far as Semitic coloring is concerned, there are great differences which need to be taken into account at the outset. The Synoptic Gospels stand at a considerable distance from the Gospel of John in this regard, in spite of their close literary relationship, while between the Synoptic Gospels and the writings of Paul, for example, there is a great gulf fixed. A layman after reading such statements as those which I have just quoted would be likely to suppose that the evidence of the papyri has already settled, or nearly settled, the question of 'translation-Greek' in the New Testament; that it has shown, at all events, that the hypothesis of such translation is not anywhere absolutely necessary. But as a matter of fact, the evidence furnished by the papyri and by inscriptions has hardly touched the

¹ Repeated in his *Grammar of New Testament Greek* (1906), p. 18 f.

real question at all. In the case of most of the documents of the New Testament, the question of translation from a supposed Semitic original could never arise, among properly equipped scholars. It is only in the case of a few of the writings that the probability has been shown, and the line needs now to be drawn more sharply than ever between these writings and their fellows.

As Professor Moulton says (in this same series of articles, *passim*), it has been shown that a good many words and idioms which had been regarded as glaring Hebraisms, such as ἰδοὺ (used like Heb. הִנֵּה, etc.), ἀνὰ μέτρον, and ἐνώπιον (like Heb. לִפְנֵי, etc.) are occasionally met with in documents which are certainly not translations from Semitic originals. This is not surprising, and in all probability still other idioms which have been quite generally regarded as peculiar to the "translation" language will be found in original Greek compositions of this late period.

But these facts have very little bearing, after all, on the question of the original language of the Gospel of Matthew, or of Mark or Luke. It is a matter of very little consequence, for the settling of this important question, whether εἰς as an ordinal number, or ἐν with the instrumental meaning, can be found in the Ptolemaic documents, or whether ἐγέμερο is used with an infinitive in profane Greek. Even if every so-called 'Semitic idiom' in the Synoptic Gospels were found, occurring sporadically, in the κοινή (a quite impossible supposition, by the way), the real argument for translation would not be weakened. The demonstration of such *occasional* occurrences does not touch the real difference between vulgar Greek and translation-Greek; for the latter, it must be insisted, does have its definite and recognizable peculiarities. To illustrate, from the idioms which were just mentioned: if any extensive papyrus fragment should come to light in which even these few idioms were all used, not sporadically but constantly, and imbedded in a dialect whose general characteristics were at least as obviously Semitic as Greek, then the presumption would of necessity be this, that the document had originally been composed in a Semitic tongue. Only strong and unequivocal evidence to the contrary could render any other hypothesis tenable.

To return to one or two of Moulton's statements. "The farmer of the Fayum spoke a Greek essentially identical with that of the Evangelists." This gives an altogether erroneous impression. It may well be true that the Greek spoken by Egyptian peasants very closely resembled that *spoken* by the compilers of Matthew, Mark, and Luke; but that it even remotely resembled the language *in which they wrote their Gospels* is not true at all. No evidence which has thus far come to light tends to show that such Greek as that of the Gospels was ever spoken in any part of the world. The idiom of the Synoptic Gospels, like that of the Apocalypse, is half Semitic throughout. One characteristic Semitic construction follows another, in verse after verse and on page after page. The student of Aramaic and Hebrew is reminded of these languages, not occasionally, but all the time, and this is the important fact. Moulton says (*ibidem*), in speaking of the κοινή, as exhibited in the papyri: "The most convincing Hebraisms appear in the private letters of men who could never have been in contact with Semitic influences." But what is a "convincing Hebraism"? There is really no such thing, so long as the discussion is concerned with isolated phenomena. It is only when the idiom is one link in a long chain that it becomes convincing; then, indeed, it may have an absolutely compelling force. The argument is cumulative; we are concerned with the continuous impression made by a great mass of material, rather than with a number of striking instances — though these are to be had in abundance when they are sought for. The fact is, we have in this well-marked group of New Testament writings a series of compositions which are Semitic in structure, although clothed in a Greek dress, and the just effect of recent discoveries is to make this peculiarity seem all the more striking. In all the mass of papyri and inscriptions nothing similar has come to light, and we are therefore more than ever in need of an adequate explanation. Can, then, this Semitic-Greek represent a spoken dialect?

It is true that uneducated people of the lower class, when they are forced by circumstances to speak a foreign tongue, sometimes create an uncouth *patois*, consisting of a more or less ludicrous mixture of the two dialects, which they then

use in their more careless intercourse with one another. It is possible (though we have no evidence of it) that some such Greek-Aramaic jargon, to which we might compare our 'Pennsylvania Dutch,' was used for a time in some part of Palestine. But such jargons as these have obviously nothing to do with the language of the New Testament writings under discussion. No one of these writings is the work of an unlettered man, no one of them is the work of an unskilled author. In each case, we know ourselves to be dealing with a man of culture, and of literary resources; one who was possessed of an extensive vocabulary, and knew how to render shades of thought. When such men use a mongrel dialect, they do so from deliberate choice. Here, the reason for the choice is obvious, it is the translator's conception of his task. No other explanation thus far proposed accounts for all the facts. This will perhaps become more evident in the course of the discussion which here follows. If the documents which underlie the Synoptic Gospels were composed in vulgar Greek, why should this Greek be anything else than the *κοινή*? It is true that we are not very well acquainted with the popular speech, yet our knowledge of it has been much increased, until we are at least able to assert with all emphasis that it is by no means the language of the Gospels. The real effect of the recent discoveries in the field of late Greek is, then, to isolate the 'translation' idiom of the Gospels from the most of the remainder of the New Testament even more completely than it had been isolated before. The contrast in which it stands to the popular language which was ordinarily written and spoken at that day is becoming more and more evident. Its true affinities, on the other hand, are to be found in the books of the Greek Old Testament. It will be in place, then, to take some general notice of the language of the old Greek renderings from the Semitic.

The translation-Greek of our Biblical books is a literary product whose peculiarities deserve more attention than they have hitherto received. The subject is not one that can be treated satisfactorily in small compass, yet it is pos-

sible to set forth briefly some general truths with sufficient clearness to aid in the present investigation.

It is true, on the one hand, that there are varieties of translation-Greek. The ancient translators did conceive their tasks in ways differing somewhat according to the character of the work which they were rendering, and also according to the period and the circumstances in which they lived. In the Old Testament, where we have the necessary materials for criticising the Greek versions, we can observe this fact to good advantage. We have in our Greek Bible a number of different kinds of faithful translation. Leaving out of account such minor literary habits as could be taken for granted, it can be shown in the case of not a few of the Biblical books that the individual interpreter had his own peculiar principles of procedure in rendering the Semitic text which he had before him. Anything like a free paraphrase, to be sure, we shall rarely find, and that only in occasional passages; but the ideas of what constitutes a true reproduction are seen to vary considerably. Nevertheless, many Old Testament scholars have failed to recognize the fact that these renderings are not all alike; and most of them still continue to operate with 'the LXX' (meaning the text printed by Swete or Tischendorf) as though it were homogeneous, and to use it in Kings, or Ezekiel, or Koheleth, in exactly the same way in which they had used it in the Pentateuch.

On the other hand, there are important particulars in which the translations in our Bible, including both the Old Testament and the New Testament, are essentially alike. It is with these points of essential resemblance that I have especially to do. As has already been said in the case of the Old Testament, the Biblical translations are without exception close renderings, so far as we are now able to judge. Speaking broadly, we can safely depend on every one of them to follow its original faithfully, through thick and thin. The occasional local exceptions, in more freely rendered clauses or passages, do not affect the general rule. The resulting idiom, viewed in passages sufficiently extended to have a recognizable character, is never Greek, but always a mixture; at its best inelegant, and at its worst monstrous.

The reasons for this are worth seeking. Why should the Alexandrine translators and their fellows have produced this jargon, instead of an idiom more closely resembling their own spoken or written Greek? The question is most commonly answered by saying that they were attempting to render sacred writings, every word of which had its superhuman value; hence the anxious adhesion to the original. This fact did always exercise a very considerable influence, and was doubtless a chief cause of many painfully literal renderings, especially in passages containing something oracular or otherwise portentous. Generally speaking, the later Biblical translations were more closely word-for-word than the earlier, because of the increasing reverence for the inspired writings; this rule had its exceptions, however. A very frequent cause of the conflation of Biblical texts was the wish to include, side by side with the old rendering, a new and more exact one. But the sanctity of the originals is by no means the only reason, nor even the principal reason, for the extreme literalness of these early versions. Contemporary translations of writings which were not regarded as sacred show in general the very same characteristics as do the renderings of the canonical books. When the grandson of Bar Sira, for example, undertook to turn his grandfather's Hebrew proverbs into Greek, in order to give them the currency which they deserved, he produced the same barbarous mixture — incredibly awkward now and then — which we find in the other Greek versions from the Hebrew.

Another explanation of these extremely close renderings in the Greek Old Testament emphasizes the fact that Hebrew was at that time going out of use as a spoken language. The uncouth idiom of the 'Septuagint' was the result of "the effort of Greek-speaking men to translate the already obsolete and imperfectly understood Hebrew" (Moulton, *Grammar*, p. 13). This is true to some extent, namely in single words and occasional passages, which had passed beyond the interpreter's ken, just as certain words and phrases in Chaucer, Shakespeare, and even more recent writers have ceased to be understood. Words have their day, and drop out of sight; local allusions, or the current phrases of a certain period, soon lose their meaning, often

beyond recovery. Doubtless not a few things in our Hebrew Bible which would have been perfectly transparent to any Israelite in the time of Jeroboam II, or of Hezekiah, could have been understood by no one in the time of Haggai and Zechariah. Some authors, moreover, express themselves so obscurely that their writings are full of riddles, difficult enough for contemporaries, and often quite insoluble for subsequent generations. The extent to which these old Hebrew texts have been changed from their original form, in the course of time, must also be borne in mind. If the prophet Hosea could have been confronted with his own book in the shape in which it lay before its Greek translators, the attempt to read and understand it offhand would certainly have staggered him. It is quite true, then, that many queer specimens of the translator's jargon show that the original was not understood; this is very far, however, from explaining translation-Greek as a whole. *The Hebrew language* was not by any means unfamiliar, or imperfectly understood, at the time when these first versions were made. The author of First Maccabees wrote classical Hebrew as easily and naturally as educated Swiss write High German, and so doubtless did a multitude of his contemporaries, both in Palestine and in the Dispersion. The Alexandrine translators knew Hebrew hardly less intimately than they knew their own mother-tongue; we are far more likely to underestimate than to overestimate their equipment in this regard. Furthermore, the versions made from the Aramaic, while it was a living language and perfectly well understood, have precisely the same quality and the same peculiarities as those made from the Hebrew.

The true source of 'translation-Greek' lies deeper than either of these two reasons for occasional close rendering. It lies in the translator's conception of his task. In what way should he mirror in one language what had been written in another? In all times and places it has been the *first* aim of the ordinary translator to render words rather than ideas. Even where the version is comparatively 'free,' the idiom of the original is retained. Obviously, this saves time and trouble, and avoids a responsibility which would generally be unwelcome. It would be a mistake to suppose,

however, that indolence was to any considerable extent responsible for this method of translating. These Jews of the Dispersion were willing to give any amount of time and labor to their task, and wished to do it as well as it could be done. But they could not have felt it to be incumbent on them, or even desirable, to render into idiomatic Greek. The original was not conceived in Greek, but in Hebrew or Aramaic, and what they were required to do was to present the same document *in a Greek dress*; this was the only way in which they could make it accessible to Greek readers, and at the same time let it speak for itself. This was the typical attitude of the ancient translator, irrespective of the nature of the text to be rendered.² In modern times and among men of letters the custom of literal rendering no longer prevails; but even modern translators who are imperfectly trained resort to the old method. The 'schoolboy translation' is often referred to, in speaking of Old Testament Greek, and the comparison is an apt one. Especially in the more obscure parts of the Old Testament, the translator must very often have felt that his task was too hard for him. What he then did was to render the difficult, and often manifestly corrupt, text with desperate faithfulness. In dealing with such passages the maxim was, and in the nature of the case had to be, that of the schoolboy: 'Try to put down something which shall correspond closely to each word of the original — and never mind the sense.'

² The two letters prefixed to Second Maccabees afford an interesting illustration here, if my opinion regarding them is correct. They were certainly composed in a Semitic tongue, probably Aramaic, and (if I am not mistaken) were translated by the author of the book. He was one who wrote Greek with unusual fluency and elegance, and was conscious of his ability; but the language of the two letters is, as usual, the jargon of the translator, as far removed as possible from the untrammelled idiom of the rest of the book. (See my article, "Second Maccabees," in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*.) This case can hardly fail to remind us of the beginning of the Gospel of Luke, which (on any theory of the documents contained in it) presents a striking parallel. The prologue is written in elegant Greek; then, without warning, verse 5 begins with the uncouth mixture, a Semitic narrative merely transferred (and that not always successfully) into Greek words. Whether the author of the Third Gospel translated this himself, or found it already translated, makes little difference with the instructive fact, that a translation was not to be treated as literature, but stood in a class by itself. That the author of the Gospel did not compose this narrative in chaps. 1 and 2 himself, as many have supposed, I shall show presently.

It is always to be borne in mind, to be sure, that in the ordinary course of translation, where there is no uncertainty in the text, but only a smoothly running narrative or discourse, the translator allowed himself all sorts of small liberties. Greek constructions and the Greek order of words are freely substituted for the original Semitic — though almost never consistently. Sometimes, indeed, the extent to which this occasional freedom of rendering is carried seems to us both unnecessary and mistaken. It must be acknowledged that the translator's own literary taste often seems to compel him to write idiomatic Greek in sentence after sentence, in spite of the respect for the original evidenced by his habit in the main. The most of the renderings which constitute the Greek Bible, both Old Testament and New, are admirable performances from their own point of view, and in no inconsiderable part they are admirable from any and every point of view, even that of modern literary art.

It is with the defects of these versions, however, and especially with their slavishly literal character on the whole, that I am just now concerned. Reduce the ancient interpreter really to straits, and his performance — adding word to word in a meaningless succession — is frequently nothing short of ludicrous.

By way of illustration, I subjoin a few modern specimens of translation. The first two are attempts at 'sight-rendering' recently made by schoolboys who presumably had studied for several years the languages which they were here required to turn into English. Each one is a serious effort, made in the endeavor to pass an examination; and in each case I have printed the paper exactly as it was submitted, without making any alteration whatever.

The first 'translation' (from Ovid) is evidently the work of one who had gained some familiarity with the Latin vocabulary, but did not regard it as any part of his duty to write what should make good sense.

*Postquam, Saturno tenebrosa in Tartara misso,
Sub Iove mundus erat: subiit argentea proles,
Auro deterior, fulvo pretiosior aere.
Iupiter antiqui contraxit tempora veris:*

*Perque hiemes, aestusque, et inaequales autumnos,
Et breve ver, spatiis exegit quatuor annum.
Tum primum siccis aër fervoribus ustus
Canduit: et ventis glacies adstricta pependit.*

The translation :

"Afterwards, when Saturn was sent into darkest Tartar, he lay buried under Jove. His offspring emerged at an early age, weakened by the gold, and made prettier by the yellow bronze. Jupiter dragged the season of former spring; and he lived for a period of four years, through the winters, the summers, the extra long autumns, and the short spring. Then, accustomed to the cold of some centuries he lived on, and hung exposed to the icy winds."

The second example illustrates especially that variety of rendering in which the translator (still feeling under no obligation to make good sense) is repeatedly misled by the appearance of a word, mistaking it for another which more or less closely resembles it.

Je tombai hier par hasard sur un mauvais livre d'un nommé Dennis; car il y a aussi de méchants écrivains parmi les Anglais. Cet auteur, dans une petite relation d'un séjour de quinze jours qu'il a fait en France, s'avise de vouloir faire le caractère de la nation qu'il a eu si bien le temps de connaître.

The translation :

"I fell heir, through chance, under an evil life of one named Dennis, for there were besides some empty cryings by the English. This author, in a little adventure of a sojourn of fifteen days which he had made in France, advised himself that he wished to make the character of the nation which he had seen so well the time of his birth."

These two specimens are extreme cases, and it is for that very reason that I have chosen them. They serve all the better to illustrate the attitude of the primitive translator; it is not his business to think, but only to reproduce. I have no intention of implying that the truly scholarly versions made by the Alexandrine interpreters are to be classed, even for a moment, with such ignorant and awkward performances as these; still, the two examples will not seem irrelevant to any one who has carefully studied the Greek Old Testament in the light of a thorough knowledge of Hebrew.

There is no sort of blunder in these two passages which cannot be paralleled over and over again in those numerous parts of the Greek Bible which were hastily or unskilfully rendered. Even the instances in which the translator is misled by the resemblance, in appearance or sound, of an English word to the French or Latin with which he is struggling (*pretiosior* = 'prettier'; *ustus* = 'used'; *hier* = 'heir'; *livre* = 'life,' etc.) will remind the experienced student of the Old Testament of similar cases — in spite of the wide gulf between Greek and Hebrew.

More instructive than the passages in which the translator does not pretend to write anything comprehensible are those in which he merely follows his original so closely as to produce a hideous variety of Greek, sufficiently intelligible, perhaps, to those who were likely to read it. Striking examples of this sort are to be seen on almost every page of our 'Septuagint' texts. To give a few illustrations: Num. ix. 10, Ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος ὃς ἐὰν γένηται ἀκάθαρτος ἐπὶ ψυχῇ ἀνθρώπου, ἢ ἐν ὁδῷ μακρὰν ὑμῖν ἢ ἐν ταῖς γενεαῖς ὑμῶν, καὶ ποιήσει τὸ πᾶσχα κυρίου.⁸ Every reader of the Hebrew Bible, even in the latest Hellenistic period, knew perfectly well that the וְכִי וְכִי of the Pentateuchal laws meant 'whoever'; yet the interpreter chose to imitate the phrase in this surprisingly awkward manner, and so on throughout the verse. Or take 1 Chron. xv. 21 as rendered in the Syrian (L) recension: καὶ Ματθαθίας . . . καὶ Ὁζίας ἐν κινύραις περὶ τῆς ὀγδόης τοῦ ἐνισχύσαι. Or Is. xlv. 10, 11a: οἱ πλάσσοντες θεὸν καὶ γλύφοντες, πάντες ἀνωφελεῖ, καὶ πάντες ὄθεν ἐγένοντο ἐξηράνθησαν καὶ κωφοὶ ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων· συναχθῆ- τωσαν πάντες κ.τ.λ. The grandson of Bar Sira understood his grandfather's proverbs, and turned them into Greek with "much watchfulness and skill," as he informs us; he certainly had no need to cling anxiously to the letter of the original; yet his work of rendering is exactly like that of all the others, and abounds in such performances as those just cited.

When we come to the criteria by which translation-Greek is to be recognized, we are on somewhat difficult ground.

⁸ This example of translator's Greek is given by Conybeare and Stock in their *Selections from the Septuagint*, p. 23.

Long Semitic documents, dealing with familiar themes, written in simple prose and containing no very difficult passages, may be reproduced faithfully, clause by clause, in a Greek which — though plainly not classical — sounds quite like an original composition. How shall the fact of translation be demonstrated? The most obvious kind of evidence, and the only kind of which use is made by the great majority of investigators, is that which is found in occasional phrases and constructions which "sound Semitic rather than Greek." Evidence of this sort is vastly important, yet its precariousness can hardly be asserted too strongly. So far as it is a matter of a few isolated cases, it gives very uncertain footing, and is not infrequently deceptive where the examples seem most striking. We are not very well acquainted with the *κοινή*, after all, and are constantly liable to surprise when idioms supposed to be only Semitic suddenly turn up in the vulgar speech of the Hellenistic period. It now and then happens, too, that some factor quite overlooked by us has influenced the form of words.⁴

Another criterion to which appeal must occasionally be made is that of mistranslation. Some word, phrase, or sentence sounds very improbable in the context where it stands; we reduce the Greek to its equivalent in Aramaic or Hebrew, and seem to discover that the translator had misunderstood his original. Arguing from the double meaning of certain words, the ambiguity of clause-division, the probability of slight corruption in the text, and the like, we restore what seems to us to be the sense intended by the original author. Evidence of this variety is immensely valuable in the rare cases where it is convincing; there is no other internal proof of translation, indeed, which is so immediately cogent. But the need of caution is greater here than anywhere else. The more experience one has in this field, the more plainly he sees the constant danger of blundering. Our

⁴ Every list of examples of this nature is sure to contain its slips. Thus Wellhausen, *Einleitung*, ed. 1, p. 19, in the course of his endeavor to find traces of Aramaic circumstantial clauses in the Greek of the Gospels, says: "Ein weiteres zweifelhaftes Beispiel ist Lc. 19. 44 *καὶ τὰ τέκνα σου ἐν σοί*, welche Worte jedenfalls nicht Object zu *ἀπαφωδῆσαι* sein können." Nevertheless, the words are the object of the verb, as appears from comparison of Nah. iii. 10; Hos. x. 15, xiv. 1.

ignorance of grammar, vocabulary, literary usage, customs, and history is necessarily colossal, especially in the case of the Semitic peoples; and even the most careful modern exegete is likely to mistake the meaning of the ancient author with whom he is dealing. Hence it happens in nine cases out of ten that renewed study of the 'mistranslations' which we have discovered shows us either that there was no translation at all, or else that it was quite correct.

By far the most important criterion for determining the fact of translation is *the continual presence, in texts of considerable extent, of a Semitic idiom underlying the Greek*. The demonstration of this nature is the most satisfactory of all, generally speaking, but it should be added that no other kind of evidence requires for its use more painstaking or a longer preparation. Even a novice in the linguistic field may recognize Semitic idioms here and there; mistakes in translation may be pointed out by insufficiently equipped men; but only veterans, long trained in both Greek and Semitic, and especially in the latter, can say with justified confidence, after studying a composite work: These chapters were composed in Semitic, those in Greek; this was originally Hebrew, that was Aramaic. Indeed, where the character of the composition favors the use of short and simple sentences, making it possible for Greek and Semite to express themselves in much the same way, in page after page, it may be well-nigh impossible to tell what was the tongue in which the work was originally written. In any case, the argument is cumulative, indications that would be quite insignificant if taken by themselves becoming highly important as links in a long chain.

I illustrate again by a modern instance, taking at random a passage from a printed translation of a too familiar type.

Then, far from the waves, is seen Trinacrian Ætna; and from a distance we hear a loud growling of the ocean, the beaten rocks, and the murmurs of breakers on the coast: the deep leaps up, and sands are mingled with the tide. And, says father Anchises, doubtless this is the famed Charybdis; these shelves, these hideous rocks Helenus foretold. Rescue us, my friends, and with equal ardour rise on your oars. They do no otherwise than bidden; and first Palinurus whirled about the creaking prow to the left waters. The whole crew, with oars and sails, bore to the left. We mount up to heaven on the arched gulf, and down

again we settle to the shades below, the wave having retired. Thrice the rocks bellowed amid their hollow caverns; thrice we saw the foam dashed up, and the stars drenched with its dewy moisture. . . . The port itself is ample, and undisturbed by the access of the winds; but, near it, Ætna thunders with horrible ruins, and sometimes sends forth to the skies a black cloud, ascending in a pitchy whirlwind of smoke and glowing embers; throws up balls of flame, and kisses the stars: sometimes, belching, hurls forth rocks and the shattered bowels of the mountain, and with a rumbling noise wreaths aloft the molten rocks, and boils up from its lowest bottom. . . . Lying that night under covert of the woods, we suffer from those hideous prodigies; nor see what cause produced the sound. For neither was there the light of the stars, nor was the sky enlightened by the starry firmament; but gloom was over the dusky sky, and a night of extreme darkness muffled up the moon in clouds.

Any classical scholar who knows something of the history of 'translation-English' in our academic life would recognize this at once, whether he had ever read Vergil or not. No amount of reasoning, or demonstration of the occurrence of these same idioms, one by one, in free compositions in the English language, could lead him to doubt his first conclusion. This is not an English that was ever spoken, or freely composed, by any man or class of men. It is Latin in more or less awkward English garb, and a product of a very common type of translation. The evidence is persistent, cropping out again and again until its aggregate amount is quite decisive. It would, of course, be possible for one who was completely master of both Latin and English to imitate this translator's jargon by a *tour de force*, whether as a joke or as an academic exercise. But it is needless to say that such an imitation could never rise above the level of an ugly curiosum.

It is the constant reiteration of indications perhaps unimportant when taken separately, but compelling in the aggregate, that confronts us in such passages as Luke i. 8 ff.: 'Ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου βασιλέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἱερεὺς τις ὀνόματι Ζαχαρίας ἐξ ἐφημερίας Ἀβιά, καὶ γυνὴ αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν θυγατέρων Ἀαρών, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῆς Ἑλισάβετ. ἦσαν δὲ δίκαιοι ἀμφότεροι ἐναντὶον τοῦ θεοῦ, πορευόμενοι ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐντολαῖς καὶ δικαιομασίαις τοῦ κυρίου ἀμεμπτοι. καὶ οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς τέκνον, καθότι ἦν Ἑλισάβετ στείρα, καὶ ἀμφότεροι προβεβηκότες ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτῶν ἦσαν. Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερατεῦειν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ

τάξει τῆς ἐφημερίας αὐτοῦ ἐναντι τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς ἱερατείας ἔλαχε τοῦ θυμᾶσαι κ.τ.έ. The Semitic idioms continue to appear throughout the whole course of this introductory narrative contained in the first two chapters of the Gospel. Also in the poetical passages which lie imbedded in the narrative and are quite inseparable from it occur such idioms as ἐποίησε κράτος ἐν βραχίονι αὐτοῦ (i. 51), ὑπερηφάνους διανοία καρδίας αὐτῶν (*ibid.*), τοῦ δοῦναι ἡμῖν ἀφόβως ἐκ χειρὸς ἐχθρῶν ῥυσθέντας λατρεύειν αὐτῷ (i. 74 f.), διὰ σπλάγχνα ἐλέους θεοῦ ἡμῶν (i. 78), ὅπως ἂν ἀποκαλυφθῶσιν ἐκ πολλῶν καρδιῶν διαλογισμοί (ii. 35). This is not the *κοινή* of Palestine. It is not "the dialect of the market place of Alexandria." It is not even "the colloquial Greek of men whose original language and ways of thinking were Semitic, and whose expression was influenced at every turn by the phraseology of the Old Testament."⁵ It is *translation-Greek*, and nothing else. I do not believe that any ancient writer, Jewish or Christian, ever produced Greek of *this* variety by any natural literary process. It could not have been produced unconsciously, that is certain. Could anyone write unconsciously even the smoothest of the translation-English which I have just quoted?

It has been a favorite theory in recent years that the compiler of the Third Gospel deliberately imitated the language of the Greek Old Testament, in order to give his narrative the flavor of the sacred books. But the motive for such a grotesque performance on his part is by no means apparent. The jargon of the Alexandrine translators had no exclusive sanctity of its own. Some revered writings, such as the Wisdom of Solomon, were composed in excellent Greek. Josephus, who knew the Greek Bible as well as any man, composed his history in a language free from Hebraisms. There could be no purpose of archaizing, for the Greek of the 'Seventy' was not archaic, it was merely the deformed Greek of the translator. Luke, and his friend Theophilus, and every educated man of the time, knew the difference perfectly well.

But even Wellhausen thinks of the imitation of the translation lingo, by an evangelist *who was composing freely in*

⁵ Conybeare and Stock, *Selections from the Septuagint*, p. 21.

Greek, as a plausible thing. He says in the first edition of his *Einleitung*, p. 34: "Es giebt ein Judengriechisch, welches unter dem Einfluss der Septuaginta steht und sich kennzeichnet durch Aufnahme von allerhand Biblicismen. Markus ist ziemlich frei davon, nicht aber Matthäus und Lukas. Sie betreffen vorzugsweise das Lexicon oder die Phraseologie, doch auch den Stil. Die Hymnen im ersten Kapitel des Lukas sind beinah ganz aus Reminiscenzen zusammengesetzt und können sehr wol griechisch concipirt sein, wenngleich das nicht notwendig ist." In the second edition (1911) he omits the first sentence of this quotation, and also the last clause of its closing sentence, the remainder of which he transposes to a place (page 8, top) where it directly follows some examples of this supposed imitation on Luke's part. That is, Wellhausen believes the first two chapters of Luke to have been composed in Greek.

But I do not think that these views can be maintained. The possibility of a "Judengriechisch" modelled upon the Old Testament versions may perhaps be admitted; though I feel sure of this, at least, that no specimen of the kind has thus far come to light. Whenever Luke gives us a succession of Hebraisms, he is either himself translating or else incorporating the translation of another. As for the hymns in the first chapters of Luke, not even a very ingenious deceiver could have concocted them, unless in this one way: by writing them — or at least conceiving them — in a Semitic tongue and then rendering them into Greek. When Luke writes *ἐπολήσε κράτος ἐν βραχίονι αὐτοῦ* (a phrase not found in the Greek Old Testament), he or some one else is rendering עֲשֶׂה כֹּחַ בְּרִידוֹ or (less probably) its Aramaic equivalent. It is a translation of the painfully literal kind, rendering word by word without regard to the meaning. The same thing is true all through the two chapters; I shall return to them presently, bringing decisive proof of the underlying Semitic original.

The general conclusion as to the documents of the New Testament whose Greek has a distinct and continuous Semitic tinge is this, that they were translated; no other conclusion is justified by the evidence which is at present available. The hypothesis of a writer using the *κοινή* and

writing under the strong influence of the Greek Old Testament falls far short of accounting for the facts. No theory of imitation is tenable; unconscious imitation could not possibly produce anything like what we have, and the deliberate effort could serve no end worthy of an author who was writing seriously and with high purpose. It has been customary to appeal to certain books of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, and to the Apocalypse of the New Testament, as examples of writings composed in Semitic-sounding Greek; but the fact is that all of the books thus cited as witnesses were originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic, and our Greek versions are merely translations more or less literal.⁶

The problem of translation in the Third Gospel is perhaps more interesting, and certainly more complicated, than anywhere else in the New Testament. We know that the Gospel was originally compiled in Greek; but the most of its sources were at least ultimately Semitic, and there is good reason to believe that a very considerable and important part of the material actually lay before the compiler (Luke) in the form of Aramaic and Hebrew documents. Did Luke use the 'Teachings of Jesus' (the source called Q) in Aramaic? Was the Greek version of this document which is incorporated in his Gospel made by himself, or by some one else? Did he consult the Aramaic Gospel of Mark? How are the translations in the Third Gospel related — if they are related at all — to the renderings of the corresponding documents in the Gospel of Matthew? What is the evidence of Semitic sources used by Luke alone? These are the principal questions of this nature which need to be answered.

The author of the Gospel says, in his brief but very important prologue, that 'many' before his time had undertaken to write narratives dealing with the life and work of Jesus. He also distinctly implies, in his claim of thoroughness and accuracy in his own work, that he had examined this older

⁶ Professor Moulton says, to be sure, in the *Expositor*, 1904, p. 71: "Even the Greek of the Apocalypse itself does not seem to owe any of its blunders to Hebraism." I admit that the Semitic original of the Apocalypse has not yet been satisfactorily demonstrated, though it is certainly capable of demonstration.

material and used such of it as he found valuable: 'Ἐπειδή-
 περ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν . . ., ἔδοξε καὶ μοι
 παρηκολουθηκότι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς καθεξῆς σοι γράψαι, . . .
 ἵνα ἐπιγνῶς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν. Examination
 of the Gospel shows that its author did indeed search
 widely and successfully. In working through the two stand-
 ard collections, that is, substantially, the 'Vita' written by
 Mark and the 'Teachings' now designated by the letter Q,
 there is plenty of evidence to show that he sifted his material
 and went back to the oldest sources available. In not a few
 instances it can be shown that his divergence from the form
 of words given by Matthew is the result of another rendering
 of an Aramaic original. He also found and incorporated
 new material, not used by Mark or Matthew, and here again
 the question of translation comes forward prominently.
 In Palestine, the one and only land of native tradition as to
 the life of Jesus, it was most natural that at least a consider-
 able portion of the earliest documents dealing with his life
 and work should be composed and circulated in the Aramaic
 language, which was the vernacular in all parts of the coun-
 try, and had long been used for literary purposes. An
 Aramaic literature of considerable extent did grow up about
 Jesus and the apostles, as we know with certainty. The
 original Mark was composed in Aramaic, and that was also
 the language in which the 'Teachings' (Q) were written.
 The Semitic source underlying the first half of Acts was
 probably Aramaic. But among the 'many gospels' and
 briefer compositions which formed the earliest group of
 writings dealing with the Prophet of Nazareth and his teach-
 ings it is altogether likely that some few would have been
 written in Hebrew. Especially after the doctrine of Jesus
the Messiah had been well developed, and the conviction that
 the lives of Jesus and John the Baptist were the true and
 necessary completion of the Old Testament history had
 taken its mighty hold on the Jewish Christians, the sacred
 tongue, Hebrew, could hardly fail to be used in some liter-
 ary work designed to bridge the apparent gap between the
 two great periods. It is probable *a priori* that to any col-
 lector of traditions, discourses, and other historic material
 these Semitic documents would appeal as especially 'au-

thetic.' No other man of whom we have knowledge would have been so likely as the author of the Third Gospel to search out the remains of this literature and make use of what he could find. Inasmuch as the greater part of it (at least) must have been published only a few decades before the time when he wrote, it would be strange indeed if the most of the documents were not still to be had, in one form or another; the only question could be whether he was able to get at them. Luke's attitude in this matter, the measure of his success in finding 'authentic' material, the form in which the documents came into his hands, and his mode of procedure in dealing with them, are all questions of far-reaching importance for the study of the Synoptic Gospels.

The best starting point is afforded by the 'Gospel of the Infancy,' comprising the first two chapters of Luke. Here is a narrative which was certainly not invented by Luke himself. It is not based on oral tradition, in fact it has none of the characteristics of such tradition, but is from beginning to end the conception of a *littérateur* of skill and taste, who wrote in the spirit of the Old Testament narratives. The style, which is homogeneous throughout, is as far removed from that of the preceding prologue as the east is from the west. The Greek is distinctly of the 'translation' variety, altogether like that of the Greek books of Samuel, or 1 Macabees, or Judith. It is not a matter of occasional or frequent Hebraisms, the style is one continuous Hebraism. I have already touched upon the language of these two chapters, in the preceding general discussion, reserving for this place the proof that the narrative was composed in a Semitic tongue.

Luke i. 39 reads as follows: ἀναστᾶσα δὲ Μαριάμ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὴν ὄρεινὴν μετὰ σπουδῆς εἰς πόλιν Ἰούδα, ⁴⁰ καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον Ζαχαρίου, κ.τ.έ. "And Mary arose in those days and went into the hill country with haste, to . . ., and entered into the house of Zachariah," etc. The phrase εἰς πόλιν Ἰούδα has been an unsolved riddle. It cannot mean 'to a city of Judah (or Judea),' which would be εἰς πόλιν τῆς Ἰουδαίας, as in verse 26 of this chapter. The only permissible rendering is 'to the city (named) Judah,' but there was no city of that name. No commentator has

been able to suggest any plausible explanation of the phrase. The Greek text shows no variation, and there is no reason to doubt its correctness. But as soon as we go back of the Greek to the underlying Semitic, the original meaning of the troublesome phrase is evident. What the author of the narrative wrote was $\text{לְאֵל מְדִינַת יְהוּדָה}$, and the translation should have been *εἰς τὴν χώραν τῆς Ἰουδαίας*, 'to the province of Judea.' It is the phrase which occurs, for example, in Ezra v. 8, $\text{מִן־הַחֹמֶת הַזֶּה}$, where the Greek has *εἰς τὴν χώραν τῆς Ἰουδαίας*, and in 2 Macc. i. 1, *ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῆς Ἰουδαίας*; cf. also Neh. i. 3, xi. 3. That this was the intent of the author is made still more evident by the comparison of verse 65, *καὶ ἐν ὁλῇ τῇ ὀρεινῇ τῆς Ἰουδαίας διελαλεῖτο . . . τὰ ῥήματα*, and ii. 4, *ἀνέβη δὲ καὶ Ἰωσήφ . . . ἐκ πόλεως Ναζαρέθ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν*. In mentioning the journey from Nazareth to the neighborhood of Jerusalem, it was most natural to speak of passing *through the hill country into Judea*; thus in the book of Judith, where the narrator is dealing with this same route, he represents the high priest in Jerusalem as calling upon the people of Shechem and Samaria "to hold the passes into the hill country, because through them was the entrance into Judea," *διακατασχεῖν τὰς ἀναβάσεις τῆς ὀρεινῆς, ὅτι δι' αὐτῶν ἦν ἡ εἰσόδος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν*. The reason why the Greek of Luke i. 39 mistranslates is perfectly obvious, and a very good one: because in the first century A.D. the use of מְדִינָה in the signification 'province' was practically obsolete, having been supplanted by the meaning 'city.' As I have pointed out elsewhere,⁷ the uniform meaning of the word (whether Hebrew or Aramaic) in the Old Testament was 'province'; yet its use to mean 'city' was also common as early as the second century B.C., as seems to be shown by the old Greek translation (*πόλις*) in Dan. xi. 24. By the second century A.D. the meaning 'city' was the only usual one. Thus we have $\text{מְדִינַת כְּלִקִּים}$, 'the city of Chalcis,' in the *Megillath Taanith*; and the translator Symmachus even 'corrects' the *χώρα* of the older Greek versions of the Old Testament to *πόλις* in 1 Kings xx. 14, Dan. viii. 2; and (presumably also his correction) in the

⁷ "Notes on the Aramaic Part of Daniel," in the Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 15. 259 f. (1909).

conflate Hexaplar text of Neh. i. 3, ἐν τῇ χώρα ἐν τῇ πόλει. The mistranslation in Dan. viii. 2 is a perfect parallel to the one in Luke, for the Hebrew reads בעילם המדינה, which Symmachus renders 'in the city (!) Elam.' The word continued to keep its old meaning in the phrase 'the province of Judea,' in Jewish circles, long after the beginning of the Christian era; as appears, for example, from the occurrence of the phrase in the *Midrash Echa* (see Dalman's *Dialektproben*, p. 15, line 5 from the bottom).

Taken in connection with all the other indications of translation — the glaring Hebraisms, the constant presence of a Semitic idiom underlying the Greek — this evidence of mistranslation is absolutely decisive. I believe that the original document was Hebrew, not Aramaic: for the Aramaic מדינתא ליהודא would hardly have been rendered by εἰς πόλιν Ἰούδα. The word יְהוּדָא could not well have been misunderstood; moreover, it does not look like the name of a town, nor would it have been transliterated by *Iouda*. It is also true in general that the idioms underlying the Greek of the two chapters suggest classical Hebrew rather than Aramaic. The beginning of the narrative, for example, ran about as follows: היה בימי הרודם מלך יהודה כהן אחד זכריה שמו ממשמרת אביה ולו אשה מבנות אהרן ושמה אלישבע. ושניהם צדיקים לפני האלהים הלכים בכל מצות יהוה ומשפטיו תמים. ואין להם ילד כי אלישבע עקרה ושניהם קאים בימיהם. ויהי בכהנו בקדר משמרתו לפני האלהים כמשפט הכהנה וכהן להקטיר. והוא בא אל היכל יהוה וכל קהל העם מתפללים. בחוץ בעת הקטרת. ויהי מלאך יהוה ונר. The Hebrew idioms fit the Greek exactly. Aramaic would not always be so natural; for example, in the phrase *προβεβηκότες ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτῶν*, in verse 7. If the original had תמים at the end of verse 6, as seems very plausible, then it may well be that the idiom intended was the one which is found in Ps. xv. 2, lxxxiv. 14; Pr. xxviii. 18, etc., i.e. (רדף) . . . הלכים תמים, the adjective being really singular instead of plural.

³ This is pretty certainly the verb rendered by *λαχε*. See Mishna, *Tamid* 5, 4, where the technical phrase occurs: מי שזכה בקטרת, "Whoever obtained by lot the duty of offering incense," and compare the common use of the word to mean 'obtain (by lot), attain,' etc. I am indebted for this suggestion to Prof. G. F. Moore, who remarks that the tract *Tamid* is one of the oldest in the Mishna, and the terminology doubtless much older still.

There are other evident mistranslations in the Greek of this document, aside from the one in i. 39. In i. 59-64 are recounted the marvels which attended the circumcision of the child John. The narrator then adds that fear fell upon all the neighbors, and that these things were talked about in all that region, men saying: "What is to become of this boy, *for the hand* (i.e. the miraculous power) *of the Lord is with him!*" But our Greek translation has made the astonished exclamation consist only of the question, "What is to become of this boy?" while the added reason, that the power of Yahwe was shown in these miracles which were "talked about," is now changed into a general remark made by the narrator himself. The original had simply כִּי יַד יְהוָה עִמּוֹ, and the rendering should have been: "for the hand of the Lord *is* with him," ἐστὶ instead of ἦν.

The zeugma in verse 64, ἀνεψέχθη δὲ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα αὐτοῦ, 'his mouth *and* his tongue were opened,' does not point to any similar awkwardness in the original, for the very same verb, פָּתַח, would regularly be used either of 'opening' the mouth or of 'setting free' the tongue.

In ii. 1 we read: ἐξῆλθεν δόγμα . . . ἀπογορφεσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην. The original was of course כָּל הָאָרֶץ, and it probably meant 'all the land' (of Palestine), not 'all the world.'

ii. 11 contains an obvious error of translation, in the words ὅς ἐστιν χριστὸς κύριος. The Hebrew had יְהוָה מְשֻׁחָ, 'Yahwe's Anointed,' and the rendering in Greek should have been χριστὸς κυρίου or ὁ χριστὸς τοῦ κυρίου (cf. vs. 26).

The hymns which lie imbedded in the narrative — and never existed apart from it — sound distinctly more like Hebrew than like Aramaic. The poems most nearly akin to them, in the Hebrew literature with which we happen to be acquainted, are the so-called Psalms of Solomon, which were written near the middle of the last century B.C. Like the best of those, the hymns in Luke are fresh and vigorous compositions,⁹ which in their original form must have been

⁹ The fact that the language "consists largely of reminiscences" is not a blemish. The devotional poetry of any religion of long standing must use familiar phrases; it could not otherwise have its intended effect. Moreover, in this case the aim of emphasizing the messianic idea necessitated an especially full and suggestive use of the messianic phrases of the Old Testament.

fine specimens of Hebrew poetry. The metrical structure — lines of three rhythmic beats — can generally be recognized; indeed, wherever the style is lofty and the language poetic the same regular rhythm returns, as in any late Hebrew composition. Thus, for example, i. 13–17, 30–33, ii. 34 f. In ii. 14 we seem to have a fine example of a rhymed tristich:

כבוד ליהוה במקדש
ועל הארץ שלום
באנשים רצון¹⁰

Some of the idioms which appear most barbarous in the Greek belong properly to the high style of Hebrew psalmody. A case of this sort is the line *עשה דיל בורעו* in i. 51 (already mentioned). Another is in i. 78, *διὰ σπλάγχχνα ἐλέους θεοῦ ἡμῶν*, *ברחמי חסד אלהינו*, ‘through the gracious compassion of our God.’ In all these poetical passages the translation follows the original word by word, and clause by clause, as is the case also in the Greek Old Testament. It is therefore all but impossible to suppose that *ἀφόβως* in i. 74 was connected with *λατρεύειν* (vs. 75) in the *original* poem. The Hebrew had something like this:

לתת לנו לא תרדה | מיד איבים מצלים
לעבד אותו בתמים | תגדק לפניו כל ימינו

‘To give us *release from fear*, rescued from the power of our foes, that we might serve him in holiness, and in righteousness before him, all our days.’ The poetic compound *לאחרדה*, ‘fearlessness,’ naturally gave trouble to the translator.

A very important fact to be noticed, in connection with the Greek of this ‘Gospel of the Infancy,’ is the extent to which it exhibits the language of Luke¹¹ himself. His vocabulary and style have been studied very carefully by many scholars, and the main results are familiar. Whoever

¹⁰ Granting the fact of translation (and it must be granted), the evidence here in favor of *εὐδοκία*, as against *εὐδοκίας*, will probably be convincing to scholars in proportion as they have studied the details of Hebrew prosody.

¹¹ I use the name merely for convenience, without intending to express an opinion as to the authorship of the Third Gospel.

examines such classified lists as those in Plummer's commentary, pp. li-lxiii, for example, will see that the evidence of Luke's authorship of the Greek of chapters i and ii is quite decisive. Both number and nature of the characteristic words and usages are such as to leave no room for doubt. As Plummer says (p. lxix): "The peculiarities and characteristics of Luke's style and diction . . . run through our Gospel from end to end. . . . *In the first two chapters they are perhaps somewhat more frequent than elsewhere.*"¹² Observe also the two passages from these chapters which he has printed on page lxx, with indication of the words and phrases which are more or less characteristic of the author of the Gospel. Yet this narrative has not been worked over or rewritten by Luke; on the contrary, it bears with especial plainness the marks of a very close rendering; as Plummer observes (pp. xlix f.), no part of the Gospel is more uncompromisingly Hebraistic than the narrative of these two opening chapters. The only natural conclusion that can be drawn, and the one to which every indication seems to point, while there is really nothing of importance that can be said against it, is this, that *the author of the Third Gospel himself translated the Narrative of the Infancy from Hebrew into Greek*. The manner of the beginning of this Gospel, then, affords an interesting parallel to that of the beginning of 2 Maccabees, already referred to, inasmuch as the author of the latter book begins with a fairly close translation, made by himself,¹³ of certain Aramaic documents, at the conclusion of which he proceeds at once with his own fluent and elegant Greek, the contrast being quite as striking as that in Luke's Gospel.

Having thus established the fact that Luke was really successful in his search for original Semitic material, and

¹² The italics are mine.

¹³ See my demonstration of this fact in the article "Die Briefe 2 Makk. 1: 1-2: 18" in the *Zeitschr. für die altt. Wissensch.*, vol. 20 (1900), pp. 239 f., supplemented by my Notes on the Aramaic Part of Daniel, p. 254. In my article in the ZATW, I argued from the phrase *ἐν κοιλώματι φρέατος τάξις ἔχοντος ἀνδρὸν*, in 1: 19. I could have made out a still stronger case if I had known then, what I have observed since, that the very same circumlocution occurs in 9: 18, where "he wrote a supplicating letter," is expressed by *ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολὴν ἔχουσαν ἱκετηρίας τάξις*.

that he himself translated at least a part of it into Greek, we have gained important standing ground. First of all, the question of the source used by him in the earlier part of the book of Acts takes on a new interest. The evidence of his handiwork is practically the same as in the first two chapters of the Gospel; the Greek is distinctly translation-Greek, and it contains a convincing proportion of Lukan words and turns of speech. Here, again, the appearance is *not* that of a Greek text 'worked over' by the evangelist; there is only one plausible explanation, namely, that he himself was the author of the translation. The document which he translated appears to have belonged to that earliest stratum of Palestinian Christian literature which was written and circulated in the Aramaic tongue, and had for its subject the life and teachings of Jesus and the beginnings of the Christian church. It is just such a document as we should have expected Luke to find and use.

The problems of translation connected with Luke's use of his two main sources, Q and Mark, are much more complex; this is not the place to attempt to examine them closely. The two minor sources just considered, namely, the Gospel of the Infancy and the story of the first work of the Apostles, presumably lay before Luke each in a single recension; at all events, we have no evidence that either of them was current in more than one form. But the case of the two major sources was altogether different. Wherever there was a Christian community, they were read, and recited from memory, and copied for further distribution. In the Oriental church, both Semitic and Greek recensions were in circulation. It was in the nature of the case that the latter should be more numerous than the former, even in Palestine. The true centre of gravity of the Christian church was at first in the towns and villages of Judea and Galilee, but it remained there only a very short time. The great cities of the neighboring lands took over the tradition, and Greek became the language of the Eastern church not only where it was the vernacular, but also all through Syria and Palestine, from Antioch to Egypt. Jew and Christian went each his own way, and their separateness from each other was emphasized. The Christian Aramaic literature which grew

up in the first century soon dwindled. It is a question of very great interest, in what form or forms Luke found Q and Mark. After these two all-important documents had been translated, and were widely current in various Greek recensions, as well as in more than one variety of combination, it was a matter of course that copies in Aramaic, as the original language, should have been especially treasured, in the places where they were still in existence. It can hardly be doubted that both the Aramaic Mark¹⁴ and the Aramaic Q were still to be had in the first decades of the second century, though it may well be doubted whether they were to be found in many places. An evangelist who really took his task seriously, who knew that there were many accounts of Jesus and wished to compile the best possible one, who thought it worth his while to look for the most authentic material, could not fail at least to become aware of the existence of these original documents. Luke was such an evangelist, and was also one who (as we now know) did actually collect and translate Semitic sources. We should certainly suppose, *a priori*, that he would obtain and make use of both Mark and Q in Aramaic.

Another complicating factor in the problem is the Gospel of Matthew. The Teachings of Jesus (Q) had already been combined, by Matthew, with the story of his career given by Mark. The combination was a most important one, and could not fail to be extremely popular; the evangelist who could hope to surpass it would need to be able to convict its author of misuse of his material, or to bring forward new and important matter of his own collecting. Luke appears to have felt able to do both of these things.

The Third Gospel was composed in Greek. In incorporating the material contained in Mark, Luke of course used the current Greek version, though giving it some editorial revision, as was natural. As a basis for such revision he had first of all (we may presume) a copy of the Gospel in Aramaic, and in addition to this, material derived from some of the

¹⁴ Not the Aramaic *sources* of Mark; we have no evidence of any such sources. The entire Gospel was originally composed and published in Aramaic. It was very soon rendered into Greek, and our text is a somewhat "augmented and improved" revision of the translation.

"many" gospels whose existence he mentions in his preface.¹⁵ In making use of the Gospel of Matthew, it is not to be doubted that he had before him a Greek text very similar to our own; on the other hand, it is a debatable question whether he may not also have had access to this Gospel in a Semitic form. It is all but universally agreed, at the present day, that the old tradition asserting that the First Gospel was composed in 'Hebrew' (presumably meaning Aramaic) was mistaken. I confess that the evidence seems to me to support the tradition rather than to disparage it, and I cannot see the force of the arguments to the contrary which are commonly advanced. From the first words of the opening chapter, *Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, on to the end of the book it is all translation-Greek. Plummer's Commentary on Matthew (1910), p. viii, has the following: "The First Gospel is evidently not a translation. . . . Whoever wrote it took not only the substance of the Second Gospel, but the Greek phraseology of it, showing clearly that he worked in Greek. It is incredible that he translated the Greek of Mark into Hebrew, and that then some one translated Matthew's Hebrew back into Greek that is almost the same as Mark's." This is further 'illustrated' by the case of certain passages which were rendered from English into French, and then (by another translator) back into very different English. But such argument as this hardly needs answer. The fact that Mark's phraseology is adopted means, of course, that the author (whether translator or not) of the Greek Matthew either knew the Greek Mark by heart or else had it open before him when he wrote. The ancient translators always worked in that way, using older versions whenever they could. We have abundant illustration, both in the versions of the Old Testament and elsewhere. In modern times, moreover, the same thing is likely to be true. In 1894, for example, Mrs. A. S. Lewis published *A Translation of the Four Gospels from the Syriac of the Sinaitic Palimpsest*. The first glance sufficed to show to the reader that this translation used everywhere the words of the English version of 1611, and

¹⁵ We have no reason to suppose, however, that these minor sources contributed anything of importance to his criticism of Mark.

closer examination showed that the language of this 'Authorized Version' was retained even in a multitude of cases where it did not quite agree with the Syriac which it professed to render.¹⁶ The translator was attached to the wording of the standard version, and so also were the most of those who were likely to use her translation. It is for a precisely similar reason that the citations from the Old Testament in our Synoptic Gospels are given quite frequently in the wording of the Septuagint, a fact which has been generally regarded as evidence that Greek was the original language of the Gospels. The translator of the Gospel wished to confirm its readers in the faith, not to stagger them. Their Bible was the Greek Old Testament, not the Hebrew, and for them all and for all purposes the Greek form of words was the right one. All these passages had been translated, centuries before, by inspired men, who had faithfully followed the original. In Semitic gospels, written for those who used the Hebrew Old Testament, the words of the citations ought to correspond to the current Hebrew text; but not so in gospels intended for the great Hellenistic world. Schmiedel, in his article "Gospels" in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, § 130, argues against a Semitic original for Matthew on the ground of certain passages "which would not have been available had the Hebrew original been followed." Only the mistranslation 'virgin,' he asserts, made it possible to adduce Is. vii. 14 in Matt. i. 22 f. But this is an amazing assertion. Taking the passage in Isaiah just as it is rendered in any modern critical commentary, it would still be precisely the sort of passage that Matthew desired, much more striking and more convincing than the most of the other quotations which he uses for the same purpose. What is more, the birth of Jesus as narrated in the Gospel of Matthew in its original form was not a *virgin* birth at all (on this point see further below). Schmiedel then argues from the quotation of Is. xl. 3 in Matt. iii. 3, saying that it could have been made only by one who connected the words 'in the wilderness' with the preceding rather than with the following words, whereas "in Isaiah the crier is of course not in the

¹⁶ As is well known, Mrs. Lewis's translation has since then been very carefully revised by her.

wilderness." But this argument shatters on the fact that Matthew and his contemporaries could not foresee the discoveries of our modern commentators; the Jewish tradition has always connected במדבר only with the preceding words, and for all the native interpreters the voice was one *crying in the wilderness*.¹⁷ The two remaining passages mentioned by Schmiedel, Matt. xxi. 9 and xxi. 16, make no difficulty whatever. In Ps. viii. 3, *alvos* was a very natural Jewish interpretation of נָו; cf. the Targum, Greek, and Syriac renderings of the same word in Ps. lxviii. 35. On the 'Hosanna' passage see Wellhausen's *Marcus*, p. 93. Neither the dative τῷ νύμφῃ Δαυεὶδ nor the ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις is difficult of explanation. Schmiedel himself remarks (*ibid.*) that the Gospel of Matthew is the one in which the citations from the Old Testament most often follow the Hebrew rather than the Greek, and that its author "could not have given such quotations as, for example, ii. 15, 23, viii. 17, xxvii. 9 f. after the LXX at all." Highly significant admissions! More than all this, the framework, connecting fabric, and merely embellishing matter of the book as we have it (and not merely the underlying sources) give plain evidence of translation. A typical case of the sort is found in xxviii. 1, parallel to Mark xvi. 1 f. and Luke xxiv. 1. Several scholars have pointed out the fact that the monstrous 'Greek' in Matthew, ὅτι ἐδὲ σαββάτων, τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς ἑλάν σαββάτων, is merely one of the painfully close translations with which we are familiar. The original was באפוקי שבתא נגדי חר בשבא, that is, 'after the Sabbath, in the night introducing the first day of the week.'¹⁸ The evidence of translation is perfect, for the Aramaic phrases are the ones regularly used, the Greek rendering fits them exactly, and no Greek author could ever have devised such a form of words. Now these phrases in the Aramaic of the First Gospel are a part of the evangelist's own expansion of the

¹⁷ In my own opinion, this traditional reading is the correct one.

¹⁸ The evidence has been set forth most fully and convincingly by Professor Moore, in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 26. 323-329 (1905). Moore also refers to Geiger, and points out the fact that Jerome was the first to suspect imperfect translation in this passage. See also the reference to Professor Kennett in Wright's *Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek*, 3d ed., p. 171.

Mark narrative — as he constantly expands it and embellishes upon it. This would be by far the most plausible theory on general grounds; compare also the *λευκὸν ὡς χιῶν* of xxviii. 3 with *λευκὰ ὡς τὸ φῶς* and *ὡς ὁ ἥλιος* in xvii. 2 (also embellishments by Matthew). It is very probable that another mistranslation is to be found in close proximity to the one just considered. In xxvii. 62 the narrator tells how on the day — or, perhaps better, on *the evening* — preceding the resurrection, the priests and Pharisees came to Pilate to urge him to secure the tomb and set a watch. The Greek has: *τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον, ἥτις ἐστὶν μετὰ τὴν παρασκευήν*, and commentators exclaim over this “singular expression.” Some have queried whether it may not have been a circumlocution adopted in order to avoid using the word ‘Sabbath’; but as Plummer (Comm., p. 408) observes, *τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον*, ‘on the morrow,’ would be quite sufficient in itself. It may be conjectured that the original had: *ליומא דמחר בתר עריבתא*, which should have been rendered: ‘Now on the morrow, *after sunset*, the chief priests and Pharisees gathered together,’ etc. The narrator represented this as occurring *not* on the Sabbath day, but just after its close. The rendering in our Greek Matthew is the only natural one, however, for (judging from what little we know of the history of the word) the use of *עריבתא* in its original signification, ‘sunset,’ must have been very nearly obsolete at this time. This passage, also, belongs to one of Matthew’s own additions. A very frequently occurring indication of translation, found in all parts of the Gospel, is the word *τότε* used to continue a narrative. It could only be the rendering of the similarly used Aramaic *אזן*. Because of the evidence of this nature, the amount of which could be multiplied, it seems to me that the old tradition, that the whole Gospel of Matthew was originally composed in Aramaic, still easily holds the field.

Nevertheless, I do not believe that we need to take into account the possibility that Luke made use of the Aramaic Matthew. It seems plain that the *Greek* Matthew influenced him; but it is hardly less evident that he regarded that Gospel as of secondary importance, not by any means to be used as a source in making his own compilation. I think we may see plainly some reasons why Luke would

have felt justified in leaving Matthew at one side — as he certainly seems to have done.

First of all, he had in his own hands Matthew's two main sources, Mark and Q, and could see that his predecessor had dealt with both of them arbitrarily and not always wisely. Matthew's aim had been only that of an evangelist; Luke's was also that of a historian, as he says in his prologue. Mark's *Life of Jesus* had provided the chronological order of all the main events; Matthew had greatly changed this order, while using Mark's own material and simply transposing it — an unwarranted proceeding, from Luke's point of view. In his use of the Teachings, also, Matthew had dismembered and redistributed according to his own preference. In assigning the discourses to certain definite occasions he had not always achieved good results, and his new combinations of Sayings were sometimes not convincing. Moreover, in using both Mark and Q, Matthew had expanded and embellished very extensively, not merely changing the wording of the narrative, but also adding details and incidents in abundance. On the other hand, many incidents and details, and even whole scenes, recorded by Mark, were entirely omitted by Matthew. This embellishment was a purely literary proceeding, which was not only allowable according to the ideas of the time, but could have been taken for granted. Luke himself of course felt free to deal with his sources in this way;¹⁹ but here, obviously, was another reason why he could give little weight to Matthew's Gospel *as a source for his own*.

¹⁹ The fact that Luke conceived his task as that of a 'historian' does not at all imply that his aims and methods were like those of a modern writer of history. For a brief discussion of this subject with some illustration from Jewish literature I may refer to my *Ezra Studies*, pp. 145-150. So far as we are able to judge, the most serious biographers and chroniclers generally felt free to select what material they preferred, omitting whatever they did not care to use, and saw no objection to increasing the interest, or the parenetic value, of the work by adding any amount of lively or instructive detail. Their aim was like that of the modern painter: to give a true picture in its impression as a whole, faithfulness in minutiae being a matter of comparatively small importance. All this is true of every one of our four Gospels. Wellhausen, *Einleitung*, 2d ed., p. 77, writes: "Markus wollte ohne Zweifel die ganze Tradition aufzeichnen, mit den Erzählungen über Jesus zugleich auch seine Worte. Dass er was ihm davon zugänglich war nicht vollständig aufnahm, dass er was schon frither gebucht war ausliess, kann unmöglich angenommen werden." I confess that I am unable to feel so sure of this.

Again, the fact is patent that the author of the Third Gospel, so far as the material — or the fashion of it — is his own, occupies a theological point of view which is more advanced than that of the author of the First Gospel. There had been development in both doctrine and usage of the church; new conceptions made their way to the front, and what had been tentative hypothesis now became recognized dogma.²⁰ This fact is illustrated in numerous places where Luke has revised the material already used by Mark or Matthew, as many commentators have remarked. One very important illustration, however, has not received the attention which it deserves; namely, the doctrine of the virgin birth. According to the original text of Matthew, both in Aramaic and in Greek, the birth of Jesus was not birth from a virgin. The Lewis (also called the Sinaitic) Syriac version has preserved the original readings in Matt. i. 16–25, as any careful study of the evidence shows with certainty.²¹ (“Jacob begat Joseph; *Joseph . . . begat Jesus*,” vs. 16. “She shall bear *to thee* a son, and *thou shalt call* his name Jesus,” vs. 21. Joseph, awaking from the vision (on the night of his marriage), “*took his wife*, and she bore *to him* a son, and *he called* his name Jesus,” vs. 24, 25.) The conception of the child is clearly and consistently represented as supernatural, the Holy Spirit having anticipated Joseph, yet the latter is quite as truly the father, the two elements coöperating. The child had thus three parents. At the time when Matthew wrote, the doctrine of the supernatural birth of Jesus had already taken a firm hold among his followers. The theory of the mystery embodied in the First Gospel (in its original form) is a very natural one, not a whit more difficult to faith than the later theory of the virgin birth, and *incomparably better suited to the Jewish doctrine of the Messiah*. The genealogical table given in Matt. i. 2–16 really had great significance, before the text of the chapter had been tampered with. But at the time when the Third

²⁰ This does not by any means imply a considerable lapse of time. Development of doctrine must have been extremely rapid in just that period. A score of years would more than suffice for all the difference in this regard between Matthew and Luke.

²¹ And this version is a faithful translation of a Greek text.

Gospel was written, the doctrine of the virgin birth was taking possession of the church, and had already been given literary embodiment in the magnificent composition which Luke adopted and translated. It was irreconcilable with the account given by Matthew, and this fact of itself would be a sufficient reason why Luke would wish to leave the First Gospel at one side, not making his own to rest upon it.²² This intention also appears in the remarkable genealogical table of Joseph which he himself gives (certainly his own composition) in iii. 23-38. I do not believe that this table would ever have been made, but for the corresponding one in Matthew. All those who had used Matthew's Gospel must have been impressed with the table, for it was a conspicuous thing. Luke makes it more complete, carrying it all the way from Joseph to Adam, and at the same time makes it completely harmless, removing it to some distance from the story of the Nativity and introducing it with the significant *ὡς ἐνομύζετο*. We may regard it as quite probable, then, that Luke did not make use of the Aramaic Matthew. His use of the Gospel even in its Greek form appears to have been hardly more than occasional and incidental. He had Matthew's sources, which suited his purpose much better.

In a considerable number of passages found in the sections derived by Luke from Mark or Q, there is evidence of variant translation from the Aramaic original. This generally does not mean *mistranslation*, but it frequently means a rendering so awkward as to arouse a suspicion which can be confirmed by comparing the parallel passage or passages and reconstructing the wording of the original text. It would be a rare thing for one of these translators to misunderstand the Aramaic which lay before him; but on the other hand, his 'school-boy rendering' might easily be such as to twist the Greek tongue out of all shape, or even to obscure the sense effectually. It might in very rare cases be possible even to find satisfactory evidence of variation in the Aramaic

²² For a like reason, those who handed down the Greek text of the Gospels found themselves compelled to make harmonistic changes in Matt. i. 16-25. The history of these changes can be traced with perfect clearness in the Old Latin version, certain Greek cursives of the Ferrar group, the Curetonian Syriac, the Peshitto, and our 'standard' Greek text.

texts which were rendered by successive translators, but the evidence justifying such a conclusion would have to be very strong and unequivocal indeed. In the New Testament as in the Old, the Greek phrase which seems clearly to be derived from a new Semitic original is in nine cases out of ten really a rendering of the text already known.

The principal fact which must all the time be kept in sight, in attempting to go behind the traditional reading to its Semitic source, is the varied process of change to which these Greek texts have been subject, ever since they were first written down. The translator himself generally²³ stuck very close to his original. Yet the same man *incorporating* a similar translation might feel free to alter it arbitrarily to some extent. Luke rendered the Hebrew Gospel of the Nativity with the most minute faithfulness, as a close study of it shows,²⁴ and he doubtless would always have translated faithfully; but Luke the compiler, taking over such a translation from another, would have been quite likely to give it some editorial revision, especially if there were other translations or parallel texts which he could compare. In general, translation-Greek loses some of its roughness and barbarity in passing through editorial hands, and some illustration of this fact can be seen in our Gospel texts. Wellhausen's *Einleitung*, 2d ed., p. 49, says in regard to the sections taken over from Mark by Matthew and Luke: "Namentlich bei Matthäus unterscheiden sich diese durch ihre glattere Sprache einigermaßen von den nicht aus Markus stammenden Lehrstücken." That is, the translator of Matthew's Gospel not only employed the Greek translation of Mark, in all the sections derived from that Gospel, but also slightly improved the diction and style of the Greek. It was altogether natural that he should do both of these

²³ But not always. You must know your translator before you can draw any safe conclusion where the variation from the original is not very great. And it often happens, in the Old Testament versions, that the interpreter who has been reproducing his original word by word in the most slavish fashion, suddenly, and for no apparent reason, gives us a paraphrase, or inserts interpretative words, or condenses slightly.

²⁴ Of course the reason for the appearance of an especially close translation in the first two chapters of Luke, and for the unusually uncouth Greek, is to be found in the large amount of poetry which the document contains.

things. In pp. 49-57 Wellhausen describes the material changes made by Matthew and Luke in the tradition derived from Mark. His characterization will be recognized as a true one, although in single instances the observed change may be due to other editorial hands or to the influence of other documents, Semitic or Greek, of which we now have no knowledge. In Luke's Gospel, it is certainly the case that at least considerable portions of the new material are translations from Semitic originals. Through how many hands they may have passed, we do not know. Where the form of words is plainly Luke's own, it may be the case either that he himself is translating, or that he is revising a rendering made by some one else. If in any instance it happens that the marks of his own hand are abundant while at the same time the rendering is so close as to be noticeably awkward, the presumption strongly favors the conclusion that he himself was the translator. Where the material is not peculiar to Luke among the synoptists, a good many different possibilities have to be taken into account. Such a document as Q, containing mainly the Sayings of Jesus, must have been a great favorite, and we should take for granted a number of recensions, both in Aramaic and in Greek. From the popular character of the compilation, and the freedom with which it would therefore be handled in transmission, we could be certain that the texts in circulation would differ from one another very considerably. How would such a writer as Luke proceed, in making his selection and compilation? Of course judgments as to authenticity and relative attestation were ordinarily far beyond his power. He and his contemporaries had no longer the means of deciding such questions. The Greek Mark, both separate and as incorporated by the Greek translator of Matthew, had already the authority of a standard document among those for whom Luke wrote, so his extensive use of it was a matter of course. In the case of the source Q, on the other hand, it is plain that there was no standard recension. In editing the greater part of the material for his Gospel, then, Luke was left to his own criteria, the nature of which we can imagine in part. Semitic documents would be valued higher than Greek. In the case of various Greek

recensions, translation-Greek would be given the preference, other things being equal. Such forms of the narrative or discourse as agreed best with the picture of Jesus and his disciples which the evangelist had formed would of course be chosen. The story of the nativity and childhood of Jesus given by Matthew, for example, could not be given any consideration in the face of the Hebrew narrative of the virgin birth, which must have seemed to Luke to be the only true account. We should suppose, also, that the wish to preserve *noteworthy* variations in the tradition would have had its influence with the evangelist. On such and such an occasion Jesus had used a certain form of words which as handed down in the Semitic original might be understood, and in fact had been understood, in more than one way. Matthew or Mark, or both, had already incorporated one interpretation; would it not be well to preserve the other, if only for the sake of caution? It is possible that this consideration was the source of some readings — or translations — in the Third Gospel. It seems plain that Luke took it for granted that Mark and Matthew would continue in circulation side by side with his own Gospel. If he had not believed this, he would certainly not have omitted so much of Mark's material. He criticised what lay before him, to the best of his ability, aiming to cancel variant accounts of the same occurrence, to omit disturbing elements, to improve the arrangement of the matter, and to revise and expand where such revision seemed to be needed. Then, with the addition of all the new material which he had collected, he built up a Gospel which must have seemed to him far superior to the others. But it is beyond all question that he would have proceeded very differently if he had wished or expected to *supplant* Mark and Matthew.²⁵

²⁵ Luke probably had reason to believe, for instance, that the parables in Matt. xxiv. 43–xv. 46 were secondary, namely a purely literary expansion, not a genuine record of Jesus' own words. He had no need to be anxious about the matter, however, since the discourses in question had already been given a permanent place in the Gospel of his predecessor. But we may be pretty sure that if he had found similar matter of equally doubtful authenticity, clothed in a Semitic dress and otherwise harmonious with his own idea of the character of the Messiah, which had *not* been given a place in one of the standard collections, he would have felt it to be his duty to incorporate it in his own work.

In the sections where Mark is used, or where portions of Q already adopted by Matthew are incorporated, and it is therefore possible to mark off clearly the portions of the text which belong only to the Third Gospel, it is not always easy to decide what part, if any, of the new matter is the property of the evangelist himself. The question of translation must also frequently be taken into account, for not a few of the passages which have only the significance of introductory formulæ or slight expansions, and might therefore most naturally be regarded as additions freely made by Luke himself, are such glaring specimens of translation-Greek as to give us pause. To take at random the first instance which presents itself: In Luke v. 17 ff. the story of the paralytic is introduced in these words: *καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν μιᾷ τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν διδάσκων, καὶ ἦσαν καθήμενοι Φαρισαῖοι καὶ νομοδιδάσκαλοι οἱ ἦσαν ἐληλυθότες ἐκ πάσης κώμης τῆς Γαλιλαίας καὶ Ἰουδαίας καὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ· καὶ δύναμις Κυρίου ἦν εἰς τὸ ἰᾶσθαι αὐτόν. καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες φέροντες ἐπὶ κλίνης ἄνθρωπον ὃς ἦν παραλελυμένος, καὶ ἐξήτουν αὐτὸν εἰσενεγκεῖν καὶ θεῖναι αὐτὸν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ. καὶ μὴ εὕρόντες ποῖας εἰσενέγκωσιν αὐτόν, κ.τ.λ.* Nearly every word of this is peculiar to the Third Gospel; moreover, there are here a few phrases and constructions which at once remind us of Luke. The Semitic idioms are evident enough, still, it is conceivable that idioms of this nature, such as *καὶ ἰδοὺ* and *ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ*, should have been adopted by a Greek author in his own editorial additions to narrative already rendered into the translator's jargon. But to this must be added at once that the Semitisms are too numerous, and in many passages too awkward, to make the explanation a plausible one. They are merely obtrusive, not at all necessary. Employed as they are, there is no point of view from which they can be called a credit to the author of the Third Gospel, if he originated them, and they might easily arouse the suspicion that he wished to make his own additions appear to come from Semitic documents. It is not simply in the padding and patching of the Gospel that they appear in Luke's handwriting, as it were; they are equally noticeable in the large blocks of narrative which he has taken over from sources unknown to us. Thus at the beginning of chapter 19: *Καὶ εἰσελθὼν*

διήρχετο τὴν Ἱερειχώ. καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ ὀνόματι καλούμενος Ζακχαῖος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἀρχιτελώνης καὶ αὐτὸς πλούσιος. καὶ ἐζήτει ἰδεῖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν τίς ἐστίν, καὶ οὐκ ἠδύνατο ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου ὅτι τῇ ἡλικίᾳ μικρὸς ἦν. καὶ προδραμὼν εἰς τὸ ἔμπροσθεν ἀνέβη ἐπὶ συκομορέαν ἵνα ἴδῃ αὐτόν, ὅτι ἐκείνης ἤμελλεν διέρχεσθαι. Here is the same writer again; compare, *e.g.*, the ἐκείνης (ὁδοῦ) with the ποίας of v. 19. There is also the same heaping of Semitic idioms, and this time, at least, it ought to be evident that Luke is not responsible for them. Such gratuitous monstrosities as the repetition of καὶ αὐτός and the use of ἀπὸ before τοῦ ὄχλου, for instance, would be either intolerable mockery or something worse, coming from a writer of known skill and taste. Luke is translating; there is no other theory equally plausible. He has done throughout his whole Gospel what we found him doing in the first two chapters. It was his purpose to base all his work on "authentic" original documents. He searched out the native (*i.e.* Semitic) material,²⁶ and translated the greater part of it himself. In his renderings of the new material he seems usually to have followed the original quite closely, though he may have used to some extent translations made by others who are unknown to us.

His mode of procedure in dealing with the material already incorporated by Matthew is well illustrated in the Lord's Prayer, xi. 2-4 (Matt. vi. 9-13). Matthew had given this in what was plainly an expanded form. Luke's Aramaic text had the older form, something like the following:

אָבא יתקנש שׂמך
תאֲתא מלכּיתך
לחמנא תדירא הב לנא
ושבך לנא חובינא
כי אנחנא שבקן לחיבינא
ולא תעלנא לנסינא

In rendering this, Luke retained almost everywhere the words of the Greek Matthew:

²⁶ Especially after the work of Mark and Matthew, *only* Semitic documents could claim to embody the old tradition. Of course all the educated knew perfectly well that the Greek of those two Gospels was translation-Greek.

Πάτερ, ἁγιασθῆτω τὸ ὄνομά σου·
ἐλθάτω ἡ βασιλεία σου·
τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν [τὸν ἐπιούσιον] δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν·
καὶ ἄφεσ ἡμῖν τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν,
καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἀφίομεν παντὶ ὀφείλοντι ἡμῖν·
καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμῶς εἰς πειρασμόν.

A part of the wording is Luke's own, however, and that, too, in places where alteration was not necessary. (This, of itself, would be fairly good evidence of translation, for the evangelist would hardly have substituted his own words for traditional ones, needlessly, in such an important formula as this.) Plummer remarks, in his Commentary, that the *καὶ αὐτοί* and the *παντί* are both characteristic of Luke. 'Ἀμαρτίας (for ὀφειλήματα) may well be his own improvement, though it is possible that his Aramaic text had ܡܫܡܝܢ, or some other synonym. The τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν also belongs to Luke; see Plummer. This time, however, the variation is a much more important one, for the phrase is obviously a rendering of the same Aramaic word which in Matthew is translated by τὸν ἐπιούσιον. I cannot believe for a moment that τὸν ἐπιούσιον originally stood in the Greek text of Luke; on the contrary, it was inserted there from Matthew's Gospel. What Luke had before him, and rendered, was simply: 'Give us our bread day by day.' I have conjectured the original as תדירא, 'continual.' This seems all the more plausible because of the passage 2 Kings xxv. 29 f. as rendered in the Targum: ואכל לחם תדירא קדמוי כל ימי חיודי ושירותה שירות תדירא מתיבא לה מן קדם מלכא כל ימי חיודי כל יומיה כל יומיה, 'And he (Jehoiachin) ate bread before him continually all the days of his life. And as for his allowance, there was a continual allowance given him by the king, every day a portion, all the days of his life.' Ἐπιούσιος (as an adjective derived from ἐπιέναι) would be a not unskilful way of rendering this תדירא, the proper meaning of which is 'recurring,' 'returning in constant succession,' and the like. Such words as ἐνδελεχής and διαπαντός would not do as well, for the translator did not wish to make the petition call for 'perpetual' bread, but only for bread given at constant intervals, i.e. day after day. If the

Aramaic adjective had been ܡܝܝܢܐ, as in the Old Syriac, the translator would have rendered by some other and more familiar Greek word, for he would have been allowed a rather wide choice; the word ܡܝܝܢܐ kept him within narrow limits. The meaning is, then, 'Give us the bread for our constantly (*i.e.* daily) recurring need.' The translation in Matthew, 'Give us our *ever-returning* bread,' is a very close one; Luke's 'Give us our *daily* bread' is a little more free, but a better rendering nevertheless. His text originally had simply this: τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν δίδου ἡμῖν τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν, but no harmonizer of the Greek Gospels could permit the unusual and interesting τὸν ἐπιούσιον to be left out in this way! If the word ܡܝܢܐ stood here in the Gospel of the Hebrews, we then have excellent evidence that that Gospel was translated *from the Greek*. ܡܝܢܐ could not possibly have stood in the original, but would have been a most natural translation of ἐπιούσιος, making immediate connection with the phrase ἡ ἐπιούσα (ἡμέρα). As for Matthew's σήμερον, it was doubtless present in the Aramaic text of the First Gospel, but was a part of the expansion which the whole prayer has received there.

Added to all the uncertainty of translation, redaction, occasional correction and conflation, and the like, is that which is due to careless transmission of the text by copyists. Our tradition has not been infallible, and even readings which are fully attested may be wrong. I have no more doubt, for instance, that in Mark xii. 4 ἐκεφαλῶσαν should be ἐκολαφισαν²⁷ than I have that in 1 Macc. v. 25 ἀπήντησαν should be ἡσπάσαντο (cf. vii. 29, 33; Exod. xviii. 7; Judg. xviii. 15), or that in 1 Macc. xi. 23 ἐκέλευσεν should be κατέλυσεν, or that καθαρῶν in Judith x. 5 should be κριθίνων (cf. Judg. vii. 13; 2 Kings iv. 42, etc.), though in all of these cases the manuscript attestation is complete, and we no longer have the original to compare. In John viii. 25, instead of the impossible τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν; the original reading must have been τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτι καὶ λαλῶ ὑμῖν, "I am still only in the very beginning of what I have to

²⁷ The first step in the corruption was probably the careless writing ἐκοφαλῖσαν, whence the rest followed naturally.

say to you," a reading which both suits the sense of the whole passage and also resembles the language used in other parts of the Fourth Gospel. In Hebrews xi. 37 we have a conflate text — though here, again, the manuscript support is unimpeachable. The word *ἐπειράσθησαν*, which is quite out of place here (miserably weak, coming between "sawn asunder" and "slain with the sword"!), is merely an old variant reading of *ἐπρίσθησαν* (written *επρεισθησαν*). It is not likely, indeed, that there are many instances of this sort in our Gospels; still, whoever wishes to argue from variant Greek readings to diverse translations must always bear in mind the possibility of a faulty traditional text.²⁸ Generally speaking, there is no kind of textual criticism so precarious as argument from translation, even where the text cannot be doubted. The varying forms of the same tradition are usually due to free reproduction in which the important thing was felt to be the substance of the narrative or discourse, not the form of words. The character of these variants has been admirably summarized by Wellhausen in his *Einleitung*, 2d ed., p. 3.

I give in the following a few more specimens of passages, taken chiefly from the Third Gospel, in which the hypothesis of awkward or faulty translation seems to be the best way of explaining our Greek text.

Luke xi. 39–41 (Matt. xxiii. 25 f.). — The passage in which the Pharisees are said to "cleanse the outside of the cup and platter." As is well known, Wellhausen has proposed to explain the difference here between Matthew and Luke by supposing that the former rendered כִּי, 'cleanse,' while the latter rendered כִּי, 'give alms' (*Das Evangelium Lucae*, p. 61). Aside from the improbability of such a use of כִּי in the time of the evangelists, it seems to me that there is an easier way of accounting for the variation. As for the Aramaic usage supposed by Wellhausen: In Jewish literature the noun כְּבוֹדָא, כְּבוֹרָא means 'righteousness, purity,' and the like; no example of its use to mean 'almsgiving'

²⁸ Resch, in his *Logia Jesu*, 21, 26, made Mark's *κεφαλαιωσαν* a variant rendering of כְּרִית.

or 'alms' has ever been found, so far as I am aware. The verb נָכַי means 'make pure, regard as righteous,' and the like; never 'give alms.' The word for 'righteousness' which also means 'alms' is צִדְקָא; the only evidence that נָכַי was ever used in a similar way is the fact that in the Koran and subsequent Mohammedan literature and usage the word *zakāt* (pretty certainly borrowed from the Jews) is the technical term for the alms prescribed by law, whence it is reasonable to conclude that there was some such Jewish usage in Arabia in the time of Mohammed. As Siegmund Fraenkel expresses it, in his *De Vocabulis in antiquis Arabum Carminibus et in Corano peregrinis*, p. 23: "כֹּתֶר quidem in scriptis Iudaicis 'meriti' tantum sensu invenitur, . . . sed fortasse Iudæi Arabici כֹּתֶר sensu eleemosynarum adhibuerunt." A student of Mohammedan literature would at once think of 'almsgiving' when he saw the verb נָכַי, but it is unlikely, to say the least, that it could have suggested such an idea to Luke.

The verbal form of the tradition in the one Gospel differs so much from its form in the other that it is better not to try to make them fit each other closely. It is not necessary to suppose that the verb in the first clause of Luke xi. 41 meant 'cleanse.' On the contrary, verse 41 is the counterpart of verse 39; there, the first clause referred to cleansing and the second to unrighteousness; here, the two ideas are repeated in reverse order. There, he had said: "Your inner part is full of unrighteousness"; here, "That which is within *make righteous*," הִיא רְלוּ עֲבֹד צִדְקָא. Nothing could be more natural than to render this by τὰ ἐνόντα δότε ἐλεημοσύνην, since עֲבֹד צִדְקָא is the regular idiom for "give alms," the very one which is used in Matt. vi. 1-4 (δικαιοσύνην ποιεῖν), for instance, and of which a host of examples could be given.²⁹

xi. 47 ff. (Matt. xxiii. 29-33). — The Greek text has: ⁴⁷ οὐαὶ ὑμῖν, ὅτι οἰκοδομεῖτε τὰ μνημεῖα τῶν προφητῶν, οἱ δὲ πατέρες ὑμῶν ἀπέκτειναν αὐτούς. ⁴⁸ ἄρα μάρτυρές ἐστε καὶ συνευδοκεῖτε τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν πατέρων ὑμῶν· ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀπέκτειναν αὐτούς, ὑμεῖς δὲ

²⁹ I may add, as an example of coincident conjecture, that I came upon this explanation of the passage quite independently of Wellhausen.

οικοδομείτε. This last clause contains the *proof* of the fact that these Jews were not guiltless of the blood of the prophets: "Because they slew them, and *ye build*." But this is no "proof" at all; so far as it could have any significance in this connection, it might rather be an indication of a repentant generation. In Matthew, it is all clear: "Ye say: If we had been in the days of our fathers, we should not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets. Wherefore ye witness in regard to yourselves that *ye are the sons* of them that slew the prophets; and ye will fill up the measure of your fathers. Serpents, *offspring of serpents*," etc. The verses immediately following, in Luke as well as in Matthew, proceed in the same strain, saying that the children had been like the fathers all the way from Cain down to the present generation. The original in Luke at the end of verse 48 was certainly *וְאַתֶּם בְּנֵי לְדֹתָם*, 'and ye are children of theirs.' The translator (Luke himself?) of course thought of *בְּנֵי* the participle, since he had just had the very same form in the preceding verse, and 48b seemed to be repeating the two clauses of 47 in reverse order. The *לְדֹתָם*, which thus became the direct object, was of course omitted in translating, as it was not needed and could not have been rendered without awkwardness.

xii. 46 (Matt. xxiv. 51). — "But if that servant shall say in his heart, My lord delayeth his coming; and shall begin to beat the menservants and the maidservants, and to eat and drink, and to be drunken; the lord of that servant will come in a day when he expecteth not, and in an hour when he knoweth not, and will *cut him in two*, and appoint his portion with the unfaithful (*καὶ διχοτομήσει αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀπίστων θήσει*).'" Two things strike the reader at once: First, this is a singularly disproportionate punishment for a kind of mismanagement to which servants left to themselves have always and everywhere been especially prone, and for which dismissal in disgrace is generally regarded as an adequate penalty; second, after the man had been "split in two" it could make no difference to him with whom his portion was appointed. I believe that we may see here a very ancient error in the underlying Aramaic text, which is rendered in the same way by both Luke

and Matthew. *Διχοτομήσει* of course translates the verb *פִּלְגַּל*. The original text was: *וַיִּפְלְגֵנָה מִנְתָּה עִם שֶׁקְרִיא*, 'and will divide him his portion with the unfaithful.'³⁰ By a very natural bit of carelessness (supposing the first suffix to be direct object rather than indirect) the conjunction *ו* was put before *מִנְתָּה*. This once done could never be undone, and the addition of the verb *יִשִּׁים* at the end of the clause was immediately necessary: *וַיִּפְלְגֵנָה וּמִנְתָּה עִם שֶׁקְרִיא יִשִּׁים*, 'and will divide him, and his portion with the unfaithful (*will appoint*).'

xii. 49 f. — Πῦρ ἤλθον βαλεῖν εἰς τὴν γῆν, καὶ τί θέλω εἰ ἤδη ἀνήφθη; βάπτισμα δὲ ἔχω βαπτισθῆναι, καὶ πῶς συνέχομαι ἕως τοῦ τελεσθῆναι. 'I came to cast fire upon the earth, and *what* will I if it is already kindled? I have a baptism to be baptised with, and how am I straitened till it be accomplished!' I have given the second clause of verse 49 in the words of the English Revised Version. The rendering is nonsense, to be sure, but it at least has the merit of following the text. Many interpreters, including some of the foremost of the Germans, have rendered according to the sense: 'How I wish that it were already kindled!' but this, as Plummer fairly objects, "does rather serious violence to the Greek." Turning the Greek back, word by word, into Aramaic, we have: *וּמַה עֲבָא אֲנָא אֲדִי מִן כְּדִי דְלִקְתָּ*. But whoever has before him this Aramaic, not feeling obliged to render word for word, but rather to give the sense, can only translate it: 'And how I wish that it were already kindled!' The idiom is the regular one in Aramaic. We are given in Luke a too literal rendering — though any ancient translator would have been likely to render in just this way.

xxiii. 54. — Καὶ ἡμέρα ἦν παρασκευῆς, καὶ σάββατον ἐπέφωσκεν. 'Now it was the Day of Preparation, and the next day was the Sabbath.' The same idiom which has already been mentioned, above, in interpreting Matt. xxviii. 1. Moore, in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 26. 328 f.,

³⁰ The idiom is perfectly regular; cf., for example, the Syr. renderings in Is. liii. 12; Jer. xxxvii. 12, etc.

³¹ This word is regularly used to mean both 'faithless' (Luke, *ἀπίστωρ*) and 'hypocrite' (Matt., *ὑποκριτῶν*).

showed that the original of Luke's phrase was something like: **וזה יומא דערובתא גנא שבתא**. I have noticed the very same phrase in the Syriac Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite, p. 22, line 9: **איתודי יומא דערובתא, גנא שבתא**, where Wright translates: 'It was the night between Friday and Saturday.' In the evangelist's narrative, the hour is not stated; we only know that it was the time when the sixth day was *passing over into* the Sabbath. Any Aramaic text would have used here the word **גנא**, "dawn," but no Greek writer would ever in this place have written *ἐπέφωσκεν* unless he were translating the Semitic word which actually lay before him in a document. Luke is using either the Aramaic Mark or a narrative based upon it; the *ὁ ἐστὶν προσάββατον* of Mark xv. 42 is another very natural, but less accurate, rendering of **גנא שבתא**.

xxiv. 32. — *Οὐχὶ ἡ καρδία ἡμῶν καιομένη ἦν*; "Did not our heart *burn*?" The hypothesis of an original Aramaic **יקר**, instead of **יקר**, has long seemed to me the most satisfactory interpretation: "Was not our mind [**לב** is the understanding] *slow to comprehend*?" Wellhausen's **נכמרו רחמינו**, *Das Evangelium Lucae*, 139, seems to me much too remote to be compared here. Neither the Hebrew verb nor any likely Aramaic equivalent of it could possibly have been rendered by *καίωμαι*, and **רחמין** (the same word in Aramaic as in Hebrew) would probably have been translated by *σπλάγγνα*, certainly not by *καρδία*. I do not think, however, that we have a particle of *external* evidence of the original Aramaic reading **יקר**. Every one of the readings of our versions is probably derived, directly or indirectly, from *καιομένη*, the variations being due partly to corruption of the Greek and partly to guessing what ought to have been the reading. The corruption and the guesswork are important, as showing that the idiom was as unsatisfactory in Greek as it was in Semitic (witness the Syriac, where not only the Lewis text, but also the Curetonian and Peshitto, both of which have been extensively conformed to the standard Greek, have the reading 'heavy'). It is obvious enough, in any case, that this whole chapter is translated.

Numerous other indications of translation in the Third Gospel which I had noted in my own reading, and which

were included in this essay as originally presented,³² have now been pointed out by Wellhausen in his Introduction and Commentaries, so that I need not include them. One of these to which attention may especially be called is the ἀπὸ μᾶς, 'at once,' of xiv. 18. It is a too literal rendering of ܡܢ ܡܝܢ, and occurs in a section of the parable (verses 18-24) which is found only in Luke, and can hardly have been known to Matthew. In general, the evidence is striking that where Luke goes his own way he is usually closely following written documents, mostly Aramaic.

In Mark xiv. 3, Matt. xxvi. 6, may it not be that 'Simon the leper' (ܡܢ ܡܝܢ) ³³ was originally intended to be 'Simon the jar-maker' (ܡܢ ܡܝܢ ܝܪܝܐ)? I do not know that the latter word has been found anywhere; still, no object was more familiar in Palestine than the water jar, or wine jar, ܝܪܝܐ, and the term used to designate the man who made or sold such jars can only have been ܡܢ ܡܝܢ.

³² It was read before the Semitic Club of Yale University, January 13, 1904; and before the Society of Biblical Literature, in New York City, in December, 1906. As originally written and presented, it contained all the essential features of its present form, including all of the suggested emendations excepting the one concerning 'Simon the leper.'

³³ The word used, for example, in the Palestinian Syriac version in these passages.

ORIENTAL CULTS IN SPAIN

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As Livy remarks, the provinces of Spain were the first to be acquired by the Romans on the continent of Europe and the last to be thoroughly subdued.¹ Yet under the republic the Romanization of these provinces had advanced far. Carteia in the south was the first Latin colony outside of Italy; ² Gades, the oldest Phœnician settlement in the peninsula, was the first foreign city to adopt the law and language of the conquerors, and was so fully Romanized by Augustus's day that the census showed five hundred knights resident there, a larger number than was to be found in any provincial town of Italy except Patavium, according to Strabo.³ Under Julius Cæsar and Augustus many Spanish communities received full Roman citizenship. These towns, moreover, were not wholly confined to the coast, but many were situated in the interior parts of the peninsula, especially in Bætica, where Corduba, Hispalis, and Urso were undoubtedly important centres of Roman culture long before they were made Roman colonies in the years 46-44 B.C.; the interior of Tarraconensis, however, especially that area now represented by New Castile and a considerable part of Old Castile, together with the modern provinces of Salamanca and Cáceres, was not occupied by any town with full Roman rights. In the valley of the Iberus, Cæsaraugusta, the modern Saragossa in the province of the same name, occupied a somewhat advanced position; ⁴ while in Lusitania, Augusta Emerita, now Mérida in the province of Badajoz, founded in 25 B.C., exerted a strong influence.⁵ But the northwestern quarter of the peninsula long resisted the Roman arms, so that the conquest was only completed by Agrippa's successes

¹ xxviii. 12. 12.

² Livy, xliii. 3. 1-4.

³ iii. p. 169.

⁴ Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, iii. 24; Strabo, iii. p. 151.

⁵ Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, iv. 117; Strabo, iii. pp. 151, 166.

over the Asturi and Cantabri in 19 B.C.⁶ Troops, however, were continually stationed in Spain throughout the Roman domination, the forces varying from the three legions under Tiberius⁷ to a single legion under Marcus Aurelius⁸ and the five recorded in the *Notitia Dignitatum* at the beginning of the fifth century.⁹

The process of Romanization had advanced in Strabo's day to such an extent that a considerable part of the inhabitants of Bætica had adopted Roman customs and had forgotten their own language so, that they hardly differed from the Romans themselves.¹⁰ The Latin poets of Corduba might offend the ears of Cicero,¹¹ but two generations after his day, Spain had begun to contribute that long list of writers who made the first century of the empire the Spanish age in Latin literature. The building of roads, the further establishment of Roman towns, service in the army, the cult of Rome and the emperors, all continued the spread of Roman civilization. The elder Pliny in his *Natural History*¹² records a total of fifty towns possessing full Roman rights and forty-eight having the *ius Latii*, which was extended by Vespasian in 75 A.D. to all free inhabitants who had not previously obtained it.¹³

This early and extensive Romanization of the Spanish provinces had its effect on the religious history of their inhabitants. Throughout Bætica and much of Tarraconensis no evidence of the worship of the native Iberian or Celtic divinities appears, although in the remoter districts to the west and north dedications to these gods are numerous. Nowhere in the empire was the cult of the capital city and the imperial house better organized and more assiduously carried on than in Spain, being indeed one of the chief agencies of Roman influence, as the inscriptions abundantly attest.¹⁴

⁶ Horace, *Odes*, ii. 6. 2, 11. 1; iii. 8. 21 f.; iv. 14. 41; Dio Cass., liv. 11.

⁷ Tacitus, *Annals*, iv. 5, referring to 23 A.D.; cf. Strabo, iii. p. 166.

⁸ *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, 6. 3492 a, b.

⁹ *Not. Dig. Occ.*, vii. p. 138 S.

¹¹ *Pro Archia*, 26.

¹² Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, iii. 30; *Corpus*, 2. 1049, 1050.

¹⁴ Cf. Ciccotti, *I Sacerdoti Municipali e Provinciali della Spagna*, etc., *Annali dell' Istituto*, 38. (1890) pp. 28-77; G. C. Fiske, *Notes on the Worship of the Roman Emperors in Spain*, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 11. (1900) pp. 101-139.

¹⁰ Strabo, iii. p. 181.

¹³ iii. 7-30; iv. 117-118.

When we examine the evidences for the worship of the oriental gods in Spain, as I propose to do in this paper, we again see the condition of the country reflected in the dedications extant. In spite of the military occupation, the special gods of the soldiers, like Iupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus, for example, do not appear, and out of the entire list of those who set up dedications to the several divinities, only four are soldiers, and of these three were high officials, all devotees of the Mithraic religion.¹⁵ Nor can we detect the course by which these religions entered Spain and were there spread, as we can, for example, in the case of the taurobolium at Lyons, where L. Æmilius Carpus declares that he brought the rite from the shrine near the mons Vaticanus in Rome — vires excepit et a Vaticano transtulit.¹⁶ Again, at Nemausus in Gaul a devotee of I. O. M. Heliopolitanus writes himself down domo Beryto, having doubtless remained faithful to the divinity of his native land throughout his military service. In Spain we have nothing of this sort; but nevertheless we can be sure that the army, traders, and slaves did their work here as in other parts of the empire.

The question arises at the outset of our investigation whether the Phœnician and Carthaginian occupation of the coast left any traces in matters of religion; for although the power of Carthage was broken before 206 B.C., her influence must have continued long, even if its evidences are not so clearly detected as those left by later invaders. In only three cases at the most can we say with any degree of certainty that we are dealing with gods of Carthaginian origin: these are Hercules (Gaditanus), Dea Cælestis, and Iupiter Ammon. Gades was the most ancient and prosperous colony of the Tyrians; here they established the worship of their great god Melcarth, who was denominated by the Greeks and Romans Hercules Tyrius (Corpus Inscript. Lat. 7. p. 97 b).¹⁷ His temple at Gades was famous,¹⁸ and the Phœnician coins of this city bear the head of Melcarth, as that of Hercules is figured on the coins of the Roman period.¹⁹ No dedication to

¹⁵ Cf. pp. 333 ff.

¹⁶ Corpus, 13. 1751.

¹⁷ On a statue at Rome ante aditum porticus ad nationes, see Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, xxvi. 39.

¹⁸ Silius Italicus, *Pun.* iii. 14–20; Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*, v. 5.

¹⁹ Eckhel, *Doctrina Nummorum*, 1. pp. 19–22; 6. p. 504.

the god has been found among the few inscriptions of Gades itself, but he appears as Hercules Gaditanus at Carthago Nova in one inscription,²⁰ 2. 3409: [H]ercul[i] | Gadita[no] | L. Avi(us) L. l(ibertus) Anti[pho] | et A. Avius Ecl[ectus] | v. s. l. m. His cult is also attested by 2. 1929 from Carteia: Q. Cornelio . . . i | [f(ilio)] Gal(eria) Senecioni | Anniano, co(n)s(uli), proco(n)s(uli) Ponti et Bit[h]lyniae, [curatori viae Appiae, | legato legionis VII | geminae feli[c]is, curatori | viae Latinae, pr[a]etori, tribun[o] | plebis, quaestori urbano, | sacerdoti Herculis. This inscription must belong to the first half of the second century, since Cornelius Senecio was proconsul of Pontus and Bithynia before 136 A.D., the year in which these districts became an imperial province. His office as sacerdos Herculis²¹ was in all probability conferred on him by the inhabitants of Carteia while he was serving as legatus legionis VII, but the exact date of this service cannot be determined. It is further probable that the same god appears in the fragmentary inscription from Epora, 2. 2162 . . . sacerdoti Her(culis) | Modia Rusticula | mater d(edicavit). Two inscriptions to Hercules Invictus should also in all probability be reckoned here. Ipsca, 2. 1568: Herculi Invicto | A. Licinius Glaucus | d(e) p(ecunia) s(ua) m(erito).²² Tucci, 2. 1660: Herculi Invicto Ti(berius) Augusti f(ilius) divi nep(os) Caesar Aug[ustus] imp(erator) pontifex maxumus ded[icavit].²³

Of the sixteen remaining inscriptions referring to the worship of Hercules it is impossible to say how many belong to the Phoenician divinity. But in all probability a considerable number do so.²⁴

²⁰ References are to the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* unless otherwise indicated.

²¹ That this Hercules is the god of Gades may be safely assumed in view of the origin and history of Carteia. Furthermore, it will be noted that the office of priest is named at the end of the cursus, showing that it was something extraordinary. Cf. Hübner *ad loc.* No. 1927, an inscribed tile, also bears witness to this cult at Carteia.

²² The name of the dedicant is reported as Alcinus Glaucus; I have adopted Hübner's emendation.

²³ On this extraordinary dedication by Tiberius, which must fall in the year 14 A.D., see the comments of Hübner and Mommsen *ad loc.*

²⁴ The complete list is as follows: 726, 727 near ancient Norba in Lusitania; in the province of Baetica were found 1303, 1304 to Hercules Augustus at the modern Jerez de la Frontera, 1436 at Ostippo, 2058 in the valley of the river Singulis;

The cult of the second Phœnician divinity, Astarte, the Carthaginian Tanith, *Dea Cælestis*, is attested at *Lucus Augustus*, the modern Lugo in the extreme northwestern part of Gallæcia, of which it was the chief ancient town, and at Tarraco, the principal city of *Tarraconensis*. It is hardly credible that her worship was not more widely spread than the extant evidence would seem to indicate. That the cult of the goddess had a permanent establishment at Tarraco seems to be indicated by the sepulchral inscription 2. 4310: *D. M. | G. Avidio Primulo | sacerdoti Cælestis | incomparabili | religionis eius | G. Avidius Vitalis | patri b. m.* At *Lucus Augustus* the dedicants were apparently two brothers, natives of the district or traders who had not attained Roman citizenship, 2. 2570: *Cælesti | Aug(ustae) | Paterni | qui et | Constantii | v(ota) s(oluerunt).*

A third Carthaginian divinity may be seen in *Iupiter Ammon*, to whom also two dedications have been found. The first comes from the modern *Santa Eulalia de Logrosa*, situated near the coast to the west of Lugo, 2. 5640:

I · O · M ·
A · P · S · F ·
v · S · M ·

Although it is impossible to state with certainty that this is a dedication to *Iupiter Ammon*, it is in all probability such. There is no question, however, as to the dedication set up by a brother and sister at *Valentia* in Tarraco, 2. 3729: *[I(ovi)] O(ptimo) M(aximo) Am(moni) | L. Antonius | L(uci) f(ilius) Gal(eria) Sabinus et | Antonia L(uci) f(ilia) | Procula.* It is perhaps idle to inquire whether this divinity is the *Baal Hamman* of the Carthaginians or the Greco-Roman identification of the Egyptian *Ammon*; as a matter of fact, the two divinities were in all probability completely identified before the beginning of our era. In the cult of these three gods, therefore, we find traces of the influence of the Phœnician settlers in the peninsula; the perpetuation of this evi-

from the province of *Tarraconensis* come 2814, 2815, 2816, found at *San Esteban* near the ancient *Uxama*, 3009 at *Ilerda*, 3096 at *Cabeza del Griego*, 3728 at *Valenti*, 4004 (set up by the *sodales Herculani*) at *Dertosa*, 5855 at *Alcalá de Henares* near the ancient *Complutum*, 5950 at *Ilici*, and 6309 at *Toledo*.

dence was easy, since the Phœnician divinities had been identified with Greek and Roman gods long before the struggle began between the Romans and the Carthaginians for the possession of Spain.

We now turn to cults which were brought in by other agencies than those of the Tyrian merchants. The first of these was that of Bellona. Here again a difficulty confronts us, for we cannot determine whether we are dealing with the Roman divinity or with the Cappadocian goddess whose worship was made known to the west by Sulla's soldiers at the time of the First Mithridatic War.²⁵ I have, therefore, given both inscriptions which come from the *Conventus Emeritensis*. The first is from *Turgalium*; its reading is uncertain, but the following is approximately correct, 2. 5277: *Bel[l]onae C. Iulius Vit[u]llus ar(am) [posuit].*²⁶ The second is from the modern *Montánchez*, *Ephemeris Epig.* 9. 44, no. 98: *D(is) d(eabus) s(acrum).| Bellonae L. P. S. . | posu|it l(ibens) a(nimo).*

The popularity of these gods whom we have thus far been considering was slight in Spain, as elsewhere in the west, compared with that enjoyed by those greater gods *Isis*, *Serapis*, *Magna Mater*, *Mithras*, and the solar divinities. Let us first consider the Egyptian goddess and her associates.

The centres of *Isiac* religion were the following:

Lusitania.

Salacia, 2. 33. *Isidi dominae | M. Octavius Octaviae | M. f. Marcellae Mode | Ratillae lib. Theophilus | v.s.l.m.*

Pax Iulia, 2. 46. *Serapi Pantheo | sacrum. | In honorem G. Ma|ri Prisciani | Stelina Prisca | mater filii | indulgentissimi | d. d.*

Bætica.

La Torre del conde de Feria, 2. 981. *Isidi dominae | ex testamento | Scandillae C. f. Campanae.*

Igabrum, 2. 1611. *Pietati Aug. | Flaminia Pale | Isiaca Igabren(sis). | Huic ordo m(unicipum) m(unicipi) | Igabrensium | ob merita | statuam decr(emit) | quae honore | accepto impens(um) remisit.*

²⁵ Plutarch, Sulla, 9.

²⁶ *Ephemeris Epig.* 8. 377.

Tarraconensis.

Acci, 2. 3386. Isidi puel(lari) | iussu dei Ne(tonis?). | Fabia L. f. Fabiana avia | in honorem Avitae neptis | piisumae ex arg. p. CXHS = LCV, | item ornamenta: in basilio unio et margarita | n. VI, zmaragdi duo, cylindri n. VII, gemma car|bunclus, gemma hyacinthus, gemmae cerauniae | duae; in auribus zmaragdi duo, margarita duo; | in collo quadribacium margaritis n. XXXVI, | zmaragdis n. XVIII, in clusuris duo; in tibiis | zmaragdi duo, cylindri n. XI; in spataliis zmarag|di n. VIII, margarita n. VIII; in digito minimo anuli | duo gemmis adamant., digito sequenti anulus polypsephus zmaragdis et margarito, in digito summo | anulus com zmaragdo; in soleis cylindri n. VIII.

Acci, 2. 3387. Livia Chlcedonica | Isidi deae d. | h.s.e. | ornata ut potuit: | in collo H monile | gemmeum; in digitis | zmaragd. XX. dextr. | . . .

Valentia, 2. 3730 (= 6004). Sodalicium | vernarum | colentes Isid(em).

2. 3731. Serapi | pro salute P. | Herenni Se|veri Callini|[c]us ser(vus).

Tarraco, 2. 4080. Isidi Aug. | sacrum. In honor(em) | et memoriam | C . . . liae Sabinae | Clod. O[rbi]ana | mater, | Sempronia Lychnis | avia.

Aquae Calidae, 2. 4491. P. Licinius Phil|letus et Lici|nia Crassi lib. | Peregrina Isidi | v.s.l.m. loc(o) ac(ce)p(to) a repub(lica).

Emporia, 2. 6185.

. . . *serapid* | i aedem

. . . *sedili* | a

. . . | meni f.

. . . | ius

Asturica Augusta, 2. 5665. . . . Ζεύς Σέραπης Ἰαώ.

Bracara Augusta, 2. 2416. Isidi Aug. sacrum. | Lucretia Fida sacerd(os) perp(etua) | Rom(ae) et Aug(usti) | conventuus Bracaraug(ustani) d(edicavit).

Panoias, 2. 2395, c. Ἱερὸν Σ[αρδ]πιδι σὺν . . . καὶ μυσ[τρ]ή[ω]ς. C. Calpurnius Rufinus voti compos.²⁷

²⁷ As corrected in the Archeologo Português, 1897, p. 59.

That in the dedication at Pax Iulia (46) the epithet Pantheus is given Serapis is not surprising, for the god bore this universal character at the time of his introduction into Egypt in the third century before our era,²⁸ and the expression fits the syncretistic religious thought of the empire. Thus we find a close parallel in an African inscription, Corpus, 8. 12493: Διὶ Ἡλίῳ μεγάλῳ | πανθέῳ Σαράπιδι.

Igabrum in Bætica was apparently an important centre of the worship of Isis according to 1611, in which the title Isiaca Igabrensis is equivalent to sacerdos publica Igabrensis. An exact parallel to this is found at Ostia, where the titles Isiacus huius loci (Corpus, 14. 352) and sacerdos Isidis Ostiensis (14. 429, 437) both appear.

It will be observed that the eight places in Tarraconensis which now offer us evidence of the cult of the Egyptian divinities extend from the southernmost part of the province along the eastern coast into the northwestern dioceses of Asturia and Gallaecia. The most interesting of these are the two dedications from Acci, the colonia Iulia Gemella (3386 and 3387), which testify to the wealth and importance of the goddess's shrine there. The extraordinary inventory of gifts recorded in the first sounds like a list of the votive treasure of some favorite shrine of the Virgin Mary to-day.²⁹ In fact, of all the similar records preserved to us from Roman antiquity the only inventory comparable to this is that of the sacred treasury of Isis and Bubastis near the ancient shrine of Diana Nemorensis in the Alban Hills,³⁰ the value of which

²⁸ On the introduction of the god into Egypt see Lehmann-Haupt in Roscher's Lexikon, 4. 341 ff.

²⁹ The money value of the gifts was very considerable. Only that of the 112 lbs., 8½ oz. can now be reckoned with any degree of accuracy, which at the current price of silver is equivalent to a little less than \$700. Naturally the value of the gems and settings cannot be determined even approximately.

³⁰ Corpus, 14. 2215. Res traditae fanis utrisque: signa n(umero) xvii, caput solis i, imagines argenteas iii, clupeum i, aras aeneas duas, delphicam aeneam, spondeum i argenteum et patera, basileum ornatum ex gemmis n. i, sistrum argenteum inauratum, spondeum inauratum, patera cum frugibus, collarem ex gemmis beryllis, spatia cum gemmis ii, collarem alterum cum gemmis n. vii, inares ex gemmis n. x, nauplia ii pura, corona analempsiaca i cum gemmis topazos n. xxi et carbunculos n. lxxxiii, cancelli aenei cum hermulis n. vii intro et foras, vestem liniam tunicam i, pallium i, zonam cum segmentis argenteis, stola i, vestem altera lintea pura, tunicam, pallium, stola, zona. Bubasto: vestem siricam purpuream et callainam, labellum marmoreum cum columella, hydria hyspiana et lentea

could hardly have surpassed that of the gifts made by this single Spanish devotee, Fabia Fabiana, to whose wealth, affection for her granddaughter, and devotion to the goddess the inscription bears eloquent witness. The shrine must have been well established and held in high esteem to be the recipient of such gifts; this is also shown by the fact that the Egyptian cult had been brought into friendly relations with the local divinity Neto,³¹ whom Macrobius describes (*Sat.* i. 19, 5): *Accitani etiam, Hispana gens, simulacrum Martis radiis ornatum maxima religione celebrant, Neton vocantes.* This Spanish god, who to Macrobius and the men of his day was naturally a solar divinity, — *radiis ornatum*, — may well have been regarded as such in the second century of our era;³² with a god of this character Isis could easily be associated. It is worth noting here that at Ostia a *decurialis scriba librarius* dedicated to Isis regina a *signum Martis*,³³ the god with whom Neto was identified by the *interpretatio Romana*.

The two inscriptions from Valentia (3730, 3731) show devotees of the lowest class. Nos. 4080, 4491, and 6185 call for no comment. The identification of Ζεύς Σέραπης in no. 5665 is also a commonplace.³⁴ The name 'Ιαώ requires some further consideration, for this is, so far as I know, the only inscription in which this name is attached to Sarapis. That 'Ιαώ was identical with the Jewish Jahwe and was also the Phœnician name of the Chaldean Dionysus is well known;³⁵ likewise familiar is the passage in Macrobius' *Saturnalia*, i. 18, 19–21, where the learned Vettius Agorius

purpurea cum clavis aureis et zona aurea, tunicas ii praeincta et discincta et palliolum, vestem altera alba, tunica, stola, zona et pallium.

For a rich collection of Latin texts relating to votive offerings and a discussion thereof, see De Marchi, *Il Culto Privato*, 1. pp. 292–307.

³¹ Probably the same as the god Netus of Corpus, 2. 365, 5278.

³² Cf. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, xi. 24, where it is said that the initiate was dressed *ad instar solis*. Furthermore, the identification of Sarapis with Sol was not uncommon. Cf. Corpus, 8. 12493; *Inscriptiones Graecae*, 12. 2, 114; etc. Our inscription can hardly be earlier than the second century.

³³ *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, 7. 1194.

³⁴ See Head, *Historia Nummorum*, p. 720, for this inscription on coins of Alexandria, p. 570 on coins of Tripolis in Phrygia. Cf. also the many dedications to Jupiter Sarapis.

³⁵ Lydus, *de Mensibus*, iv. 38; Diodorus Siculus, i. 94, 2. Cf. Baudissin, *Studien sur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, 1. 179–254.

Prætextatus continues his discourse after quoting the Orphic verse :

εἰς Ζεὺς εἰς Ἀἰδῆς εἰς Ἥλιος εἰς Διόνυσος,

huius versus auctoritas fundatur oraculo Apollinis Clarii, in quo aliud quoque nomen soli adicitur, qui in isdem sacris versibus inter cetera vocatur Ἴαώ. Nam consultus Apollo Clarius, quis deorum habendus sit, qui vocatur Ἴαώ, ita effatus est :

*ὄργια μὲν δεδαῶτας ἐχρῆν νηπευθέα κεύθειν,
εἰ δ' ἄρα τοι παύρη σύνεσις καὶ νοῦς ἀλαπαδνός,
φράζω τὸν πάντων ὕπατον θεὸν ἔμμεν Ἴαώ,
Χέλματι μὲν τ' Ἀἰδῆν, Δία δ' εἶλαρος ἀρχομένοιο,
Ἥλιον δὲ θέρεως, μετοπώρου δ' ἀβρὸν Ἴαώ.*

huius oraculi vim, numinis nominisque interpretationem, qua Liber patet et sol Ἴαώ significatur, exsecutus est Cornelius Labeo in libro, cui titulus est *de oraculo Apollinis Clarii*. There is no occasion here to discuss the use of Ἴαώ in magic and in gnosticism ;³⁶ for us it is sufficient to observe that in the fourth century, or rather in the second half of the third, if Cornelius Labeo is correctly placed there, this oracle was current in which Ἴαώ is presented as τὸν πάντων ὕπατον θεόν, and that in the pantheistic thought of the day he was the solar divinity ; as such he might naturally be identified with Sarapis, who frequently appears as Sol Sarapis, Iupiter Sol, etc.³⁷ The date of our inscription from Asturica Augusta cannot be determined,³⁸ but its appearance in this remote district shows how widely oriental syncretism had penetrated throughout the empire. It is true that Asturica was an important city,³⁹ capital of the conventus which bore its name, and as such was doubtless visited by traders from the Orient. Whether soldiers of eastern origin were quartered

³⁶ Vid. Baudissin, op. cit.

³⁷ Corpus, 13. 8246 Soli Serapi ; 3. 3 Iovi Soli optimo maximo Sarapidi ; 14. 47 Διὶ Ἡλίῳ μεγάλῳ Σεράπιδι ; etc. On the passage in Macrobius, vid. Buresch, Klaros, pp. 48 ff.

³⁸ Why Lehmann-Haupt, Roscher's Lexikon, 4. 360, says : die Inschrift stammt nach dem Schriftencharakter und nach des Herausgebers Urteil aus dem dritten Jahrhundert vor Christus, is beyond my comprehension. Probably this is a misprint for nach Christus, for in the third century B.C. this part of Spain was a howling Iberian wilderness and certainly had not heard of Serapis or the mystic Ἴαώ.

³⁹ Pliny, Naturalis Historia, iii. 28.

here cannot be determined from the paucity of our data, although such were undoubtedly stationed at the neighboring town of *Legio Septima*.⁴⁰

The inscription from *Bracara Augusta* (2416) is interesting, for it records a dedication to *Isis* by a woman who had been honored with appointment as *sacerdos perpetua* of the cult of *Rome* and the imperial house by the *conventus* of which *Bracara Augusta* was the centre. If *Hübner* was right in dating the inscription on palaeographical grounds as belonging to the end of the first or the beginning of the second century of our era, we have an indication of the comparatively early date at which *Isis* had established herself in the north-western part of the peninsula.

Finally, it may be noted that the dedication from *Panoias* (2395, c) is one of five cut 'in the rocks beside a sacred lake. All are in parts illegible or badly copied, but the same dedicant, *C. Calpurnius Rufinus*, appears in three, one of which (2395, b) records the establishment of the sacred place: *Diis deabusque aeternum lacum omnibusque numinibus et amphitheatrum* ⁴¹ *cum hoc templo sacravit C. Calp(urnius) Rufinus v(oti) c(ompos)*, in quo *hostiae voto cremantur*.

It is well known that women and slaves were especially devoted to *Isis* and her associates; indeed, these gods may have been brought to the west in connection with the slave trade.⁴² Now it appears that seven of the fourteen *Isiac* inscriptions are due to free-born women, among whom we find at *Igabrum* (1611) a priestess established by the community with the title *Isiaca Igabrensis* and another at *Bracara* (2416) in the northwest of the peninsula, who was *sacerdos perpetuae Romae et Augusti*. The two dedications from *Valentia* (3730, 3731) were set up by a *sodalitium vernarum*

⁴⁰ In any case we have the record of an African *legatus* there in the dedication to *Diana* of a *temenos* and temple by *Q. Tullius Maximus leg(atus) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) septimae gem(inae) felicis* (2. 2660), who describes himself as *Tullius e Libya*. The inscription dates from the time of *Trajan* or of *Hadrian*.

⁴¹ So *Mommsen*; the stone has *lapitearum*, according to report.

⁴² At first the women seem to have belonged to the lower class or the *demimonde*. *Catullus*, 10, 26 f. *volo ad Sarapim deferri*. *Tibullus*, i. 3, 23 f. *quid tua nunc Isis mihi, Delia, quid mihi prosunt illa tua totiens aera repulsa manu?* Cf. *id.* vii. 27. *Propertius*, iii. 33, 1 ff. *Ovid*, *Amores*, i. 8, 74; ii. 13, 7 ff.; *Ars am.* i. 77 ff., etc. *Juvenal*, vi. 522 ff. Later the devotees were not limited by such social distinctions.

and a certain Callinicus servus. Although to draw definite conclusions from these data alone would perhaps be as misleading as counting bonnets in a church to-day, it is interesting that the facts in Spain accord with the evidence elsewhere.

It will not have escaped notice that none of the dedications to the Egyptian divinities has been found in the interior, but that all are distributed through what we may call the exterior zone of the peninsula; and that only two come from Lusitania. In contrast to this, four of the seven inscriptions testifying to the worship of the Great Mother belong in that province. They are as follows:

Lusitania.

Olisipo, 2. 178. Deum matri | T. Licinius | Amaranthus |
v.s.l.m.

2. 179. Matri de|um Mag(nae) Ide|ae Phryg(iae)
Fl(avia) | Tyche cerno|phor(a) per M. Iul(ium) | Cas-
s(ianum) et Cass(iam) Sev(eram). | M. At(ilio) et Ann(io)
Gal(lo) coss. (108 A.D.)

Capera, 2. 805. Matri | deum | Britta (*sic*).

Emerita, 2. 5260. M(atri) d(eum) s(acrum). | Val(eria)
Avita | aram tauroboli | sui natalici red|diti d. d. sacerdo|te
Docyrico Vale|riano, arcigallo | Publicio Mystico.

Bætica.

Corduba, 2. 5521. Ex iussu Matris deum | pro salute
imperii | taurobolium fecit Publicius | Valerius Fortunatus
Thalamus; | suscepit crionis Porcia Bassenia; | sacerdote
Aurelio Stephano; | dedicata viii Kal. April. | Pio et Proculo
cos. (238 A.D.)

Tarraconensis.

Monte Cildad, Eph. Epig. 8. p. 424, 160. Matri deum |
C. Licinius Cis[s]us templum | [e]x voto . . . m.

Insula Balearis Minor.

Mago, 2. 3706. M. Badius Honor[at]us | et Cornelius
Silv[anus] | templum Matri Ma[gnae et] Atthin(i) de s. p. [f].

Of the two inscriptions from Olisipo (178, 179) happily the second is dated by the consuls as belonging to the year 108 A.D. It shows the cult with a well-developed personnel, although it need not therefore prove that the Great Mother had long been established at Olisipo. The title cernophora reappears in inscriptions only, Corpus, 10. 1803, from Puteoli: D(is) M(anibus) Heriae Victorianae caernophoro M. Herius Valerianus filiae dulcissimae, but the nature of the office is suggested by the mention of the cernus in Corpus, 8. 23401 from Mactar in Africa, dating from the reign of Probus (285-293): perfectis rite sacris cernorum crioboli et tauroboli, and in Corpus, 6. 508, from the city of Rome of the date April 19, 319: taurobolium criobol(ium) cerno perceptum per Fl(avium) Antonium Eustochium sac(erdotem) Phryg(ium) max(imum). That the cernus (κέρνος) played an important part in the mysteries of Cybele in Asia Minor and Greece is known to us. Alexander the Ætolian sings in Alcman's name, Anthologia Palatina, vii. 709:

Σάρδιες ἀρχαῖαι, πατέρων νομός, εἰ μὲν ἐν ὑμῖν
ἐτρεφόμαν, κέρνας ἦν τις ἂν ἡ βακελας
χρυσοφόρος ῥήσων καλὰ τύμπανα· νῦν δέ μοι Ἀλκμάν
οὔνομα, καὶ Σπάρτας εἰμὶ πολυτρίποδος.

Likewise Nicander in his Alexipharmaca, 217 ff.:

ἢ ἄτε κερνοφόρος ζάκορος βωμίστρια Πείης
εἰνάδι λαοφόροις ἐνιχρίμπτουσα κελεύθους
μακρὸν ἐπεμβοάῃ γλώσση θρόον, κτλ.

Clement of Alexandria, Protrepticos, i. 2, 13, tells us distinctly that the carrying of the κέρνος was a regular part of the initiation into the rites of Attis, Cybele, and the Corybantes: ταῦτα τελίσκουσιν οἱ Φρύγες Ἀττιδι καὶ Κυβέλῃ καὶ Κορύβασι, — τὰ σύμβολα τῆς μύσεως ταύτης ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον, ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον, ἐκερνοφόρησα, ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδυν. The scholiast on Plato's Gorgias, p. 497, assures us that the same formula was used in the lesser mysteries: ἐν οἷς (sc. τοῖς μικροῖς μυστηρίοις) πολλὰ μὲν ἐπράττετο αἰσχρά, ἐλέγετο δὲ πρὸς τῶν μνουμένων ταῦτα· ἕκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον, ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον, ἐκερνοφόρησα (κέρνος δὲ τὸ λίκνον ἦγουν τὸ πτύον ἐστίν), ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδυν καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.' In fact we may be sure that the

κέρνος, or its counterpart the *λάκων*, filled with sacred symbols, was carried in many forms of mystic initiation. The vessel itself doubtless varied in shape from a simple vase to those elaborate affairs described by Athenæus which were obviously intended for offering the *παγκαρπία*.⁴³ In the case of the taurobolium or criobolium the cernus was probably used to hold the vires of the victim as it may have been for the *αἰδοῖον* of the newly consecrated Gallus.⁴⁴

Now it will be observed that the two inscriptions in which the cernus is mentioned are taurobolic, which fact at once raises the question whether the inscription from Olisipo is also of that character. Although the taurobolium is not expressly mentioned, it is noteworthy that aside from the title cernophora, we have the formula of agency per M. Iulium Cassianum et Cassiam Severam, which is exactly the expression used in the taurobolic inscription of 319 A.D. quoted above.⁴⁵ It is, therefore, not impossible that our inscription is of like nature; if it be, it antedates by twenty-six years the puzzling inscription from Puteoli (Corpus, 10. 1596), which is usually regarded as the earliest record of a taurobolium. To follow the traditional view may be the safer course in view of the paucity of our data, but I have grave doubts if it is the correct one.

The dedication of the altar at Emerita (5260) on palæographical evidence is placed toward the end of the second century. The meaning of the expression *aram tauroboli sui natalici redditu* is discussed by Hübner *ad loc.*, who holds that the altar recorded a taurobolium paid the god on Avita's birthday, while Mommsen, whom Hübner quotes, prefers to think that the altar records the payment of a birthday vow for the taurobolium which Avita had performed one or twenty years before. The language of our inscription is obscure, but I am inclined to agree with Zippel, *l.c.*, p. 499, in holding that since the one who received the taurobolium was *renatus*, the day on which he entered his new life might

⁴³ Athen. xi. pp. 476, 478.

⁴⁴ This is the view of Hepding, *Attis*, pp. 190-192, in which I heartily concur. Cf. Zippel, *das Taurobolium*, Festschrift L. Friedländer dargebracht, 1895, p. 508.

⁴⁵ Cf. Corpus, 8. 8203, *criobolium fecerunt et ipsi susceperunt per C. Aemilium Saturninum sacerdotem*.

well be called his dies natalis, even as Paulinus of Nola (xxi. 171) used this term for the day on which the martyrs in *superna regna nascuntur dei*. If this view be correct, the word natalici is an adjective, and the whole expression means nothing more than *aram tauroboliatam*.⁴⁶

The taurobolic inscription from Corduba (5521) requires no especial comment, but we may note that it is one of the latest cases in which it is recorded that a taurobolium was offered for the welfare of the imperial house or empire. So far as the extant data show, such dedications begin with Corpus, 14. 40 from Ostia (169–175 A.D.) and close with 14. 42, likewise from Ostia (251–253 A.D.). Finally it should be observed that the inscription from Mago (3706) is the only evidence we have for oriental cults in the Balearic Islands; it is also the only one of the Spanish inscriptions in which Attis is mentioned.

We now come to Mithras and the solar divinities, which have been fully treated by Cumont in his monumental work, *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra*, 2 vols., Bruxelles, 1894, 1896. Discoveries subsequent to the publication of this work have added a few inscriptions. It should be said that it is impossible to state with certainty in all cases that the solar divinity is to be identified with Mithras; in fact, we must doubt if that is the case. Still the syncretistic practice of the empire after the middle of the second century at least makes any distinction between these divinities impossible, so that it is wise as well as convenient to consider them all together. The geographical distribution of the inscriptions is as follows :

Lusitania

Olisipo, 2. 258 (C. 516). *Soli et Lunae | Cestius Acidius | Perennis | leg(atus) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) | provinciae Lusitaniae.*

2. 259 (C. 517). *Soli aeterno, | Lunae, | pro aeternitate imp(eri) et salute imp(eratoris) Ca(es)aris] [L.] | Septimi Severi Aug(usti) Pii et | [im(peratoris)] Caes(aris) M. Aureli Antonini | Aug(usti) Pii [et P. Septimi Getae nob(ilissimi)]*

⁴⁶ Corpus, 14. 39. Cf. 6. 503, 509, 510, and often.

Caes(aris) et [Iu]lliae Aug(ustae) matris c[a]s[tr](orum) |
Drusus Valer(ius) Coelianus | v. [c.] [leg(atus)] Augustorum |
cu[ram] [ag(ente)] Vale[r]i[o] [Q]ua[drato] | Q. Iulius Satur-
[ninus] [et] | Q. Val(erius) Antoni[anus].⁴⁷

Emerita, 2. 464 (C. 512). Cautē | Tib(erius) Cl(audius) |
Artemidoru[s] | p.⁴⁸

Rev. Arch. 5. (1905), p. 327, 24. Invicto deo Quintio
Flavi Ba[e]tici Con[im]brig(ensis)ser(vo).

ibid. 25. Anno col(oniae) CLXXX; aram genesis
Invicti Mithrae M. Val(erius) Secundus pr(inceps) le-
g(ionis) vii Gem(inae) dono ponendam merito curavit. C.
Accio Hedychro pa[t]re. (155 A.D.)

ibid. 26. C. Accius Hedychrus p(ater) patrum.

Capera, 2. 807 (C. 518). Soli | invict(o) | Aug(usto) |
sacrum.

Caesarobriga, 2. 5319 (C. 521). S(acrum?)⁴⁹ | deo |
max[imo].

Bætica.

Medina de las Torres, 2. 1025. M. C. p.⁵⁰ | A. Asellius |
Threptus | Romulensis | d. d.

Malaca, 2. 1966 (C. 519). L. Servilius Supera[tus]
domino Invicto | donum libens animo posuit | ara(m)
merenti.

Italica, 2. 5366. Deo Invi[c]to | Mith[r(ae)] | Secundinus
dat.

Tarraconensis.

Tarraco, 2. 4086 (C. 515). [Invi]cto Mithra[e] | . . . (duo)
vir | . . . cime . . . nn. XV.

Trillo, 2. 6308 (C. 523). Soli Aug(usto) v(otum) |
Dio G(ai) lib(ertus) | s(olvit) l(ibens).

Bætulo, 2. 4604 (C. 524). Soli d(eo) sacrum | A. P(om-
peius) Abascantus.

Asturica, 2. 2634 (C. 522). I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo), |

⁴⁷ I have adopted Hübner's restoration of the last four lines.

⁴⁸ Either p(ater) or p(osuit).

⁴⁹ Cumont prefers to read S(oli), which may be right. In either case we are not far wrong in placing this dedication in the same class with those to the solar divinities and to Mithras.

⁵⁰ Hübner expands to read: M(ithrae) C(auto) p(ati).

Soli invicto, Libero | patri, Genio praetor(ii) | Q. Mami-
l(ius) Capitolinus | iuridicus per Flaminiam | et Umbriam
et Picenum, | leg(atus) Aug(usti) per Asturiam et | Gallae-
ciam, dux leg(ionis) vii [g(eminae)] p(iae) [f(elicis)], | prae-
f(ectus) aer(arii) Sat(urni) pr[o] salute sua | et suorum.

Caldas de Vizella, 2. 2407 (C. 520). [Iunoni] reginae, |
Miner|vae, Soli, | Lunae, di|is omni[p]o[t(entibus)], | For-
tuna[e], | Mercur|i[o], genio Io|vis, genio | Martis, [A]es-
cula[p]io, Luci, | [S]omno, | [V]eneri, | [C]upidini, | [C]aelo,
[Ca]s[t]o[r]ibus, | [Ce]r[er]i, | [G]en(io) Vict|oriae, Ge[n]io
meo, | diis sed|is pervi(ae ?) | aetmoc|iaii ccc[r] cos | cinna | gl.

San Juan de Isla, 2. 2705 = 5728 (C. 514). Ponit In|victo
deo | austro po[n]it lebiens Fronto; | aram Invi|cto deo
austro F. (?) leven[s] ponit pre|sedente pa|trem patra|tum
leone|m.

Caldas de Reyes, 2. 5635 (C. 573). Cau|ti|nto. . .

Of these inscriptions three can be dated. The second dedi-
cation from Emerita (Rev. Arch. 5 (1905), p. 327, 25) is
fixed at 155 A.D. by the words anno coloniae CLXXX; and
the third inscription (*ibid.* 26) evidently must be of about the
same time. The dedication from Asturica (2634) cannot
have been set up earlier than the time of Marcus Aurelius,
who was the first to employ iuridici;⁵¹ probably the inscrip-
tion dates from the early third century when under Sep-
timius Severus and his associates the oriental cults received
a new impulse. Finally the imperial titles in 2. 259 from
Olisipo fix its date as between June, 198, when Caracalla was
associated with Septimius Severus as Augustus and Geta was
made Cæsar, and 209, when Geta was given the tribunitian
power and raised to the position of Augustus.

The dedications from Emerita show that in the middle of
the second century the cult had a developed personnel at that
place, the head of which was C. Accius Hedychrus, pater
patrum. It will be observed that his Greek cognomen sug-
gests that he may have been of humble birth if not of the
freedman class. Indeed, the members of the higher social
classes seem not to have held the sacred Mithraic offices to
any considerable extent, and are not represented at all among

⁵¹ Cf. Marquardt, *Staatsverw.*, 1. 224-227 (2d ed.); Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*,
2. 1084 f. (3d ed.).

the dedicants named in the inscriptions which can be placed within the first two centuries of our era. The only official of high rank who appears in this period is M. Valerius Maximianus,⁵² legate of Numidia under Commodus, who showed a crazy devotion to Eastern cults.⁵³ With the third century, however, the situation changes, and in increasing numbers members of the equestrian and senatorial nobility appear in the list of dedicants, until in the last great stand made by paganism against Christianity in Rome during the fourth century the highest nobility almost preempts the worship. Of the dedicants in Spain all apparently belong to the lower classes except the two legati Augusti at Olisipo (258, 259) and the dux legionis at Asturica (2634).

The association in 2634 of Liber with Iupiter optimus maximus and Sol invictus is paralleled by 6. 707, Sol(i) Serapi Iovi Libero patri et Mercurio et Silvano sacrum, as well as by the cases in the fourth century in which devotees of Mithras were also sacrati or officials of Liber pater.⁵⁴

There is, however, no close parallel for the medley of gods shown in 2407. Of the divinities there named the following are nowhere else associated with either Sol or Mithras: Æsculapius, Lux, Somnus, Venus, Cupido, Castores, Ceres, and dii sedis per(viae). Of the other divinities, aside from Sol and Luna, Iuno, Minerva, and Iupiter are of course the Capitoline triad, although some interpretatio barbara may have been put upon them by the dedicant; Fortuna and Victoria are personifications to which the soldiery frequently paid their devotion;⁵⁵ in the dii omnipotentes we are doubtless to see Magna Mater and Attis, as in 6. 502, 503, and 8. 8457;⁵⁶ and Mercurius and Mars frequently appear in dedi-

⁵² Corpus, 8. 2021.

⁵³ *Historia Augusta, Vita Com.*, 9. 4-6. Under Septimius Severus the cult of Mithras was established in the imperial household. Corpus, 6. 2271: D. M. L. Septimius Aug(ustorum trium) lib(ertus) Archelaus, pater et sacerdos invicti Mithrae domus augustanae fecit sibi et Cosiae Primitivae coniugi benemerenti libertis libertabusque posterisq(ue) eorum.

⁵⁴ Corpus, 6. 500, 504, 507, 510, 1675 (and Eph. Epig., 8. 648), 1779.

⁵⁵ In Mithraic (or Solar) dedications Fortuna and Victoria are found in Corpus, 6. 31139 and Corpus, 13. 8812 (C. 129, 470).

⁵⁶ Also 6. 508, where the denomination is potentissimi dii. Cf. H. Graillot, *Les Dieux Tout-Puissants Cybèle et Attis et leur Culte dans l'Afrique du Nord*. *Rev. Arch.*, 3 (1904), pp. 322-353.

cations made by men of Celtic or Germanic stock. In the following inscriptions erected by equites singulares we have rough parallels to our inscriptions, 6. 31139: (*in adversa*) Voto suscepto sacr(um), Iovi optimo max(imo), Soli divino, Marti, Mercur(io), Herculi, Apollin(i), Silvan(o), et dis omnibus et genio imp(eratoris) Hadriani Aug(usti) et genio singularium M. Ulpius Tertius cives Tribocus Cl(audia) ara missus honest(a) missione ex numer(o) eq(uitum) sing(ularium) Aug(usti) viii id(us) Ianuar(ias) Asprenate ii et Libone co(n)s(ulibus) votum solvit libens merito. (*in aversa*) Voto suscepto sacr(um), Iun(oni), Victoriae, Fortun(ae), Felicitati, Minervae, Campestrib(us), Fatis, Salut(i) et omnibus deabus et genio imp(eratoris) Hadriani Aug(usti) et genio singular(ium) M. Ulpius Tertius cives Tribocus Cl(audia) ara missus honest(a) missione ex numero eq(uitum) sing(ularium) Aug(usti) viii id(us) Ian(uarias) Aspernate II et Libone co(n)s(ulibus) votum solvit libens mer(ito) (128 A.D.). *Ibid.*, 31171: Iovi, Iunoni, Soli, Lunae, Herculi, Minervae, Marti, Mercurio, Campes-tribus, Terrae, Caelo, Mari, Neptuno, Matribus Suleis, genio imp(eratoris) M. Ulpius Nonius veteranus Aug(usti) cives Nemens(is) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

The gods in these inscriptions, however, fall readily into certain groups: the Capitoline triad of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, the celestial fires — Sol and Luna, and in the third inscription the earth, heaven, and ocean — Terra, Caelus, Mare(= Neptunus); the Germanic Donar, Wodan, and Tiu with the Roman names of Mars, Mercurius, and Hercules; other Germanic or Illyrian gods called Apollo and Silvanus; and local native divinities — Campestris, Fata, and Matres.⁵⁷ These offer therefore no exact parallels to our inscription from Caldas de Vizella. Probably the multiplication of gods in it proves nothing more than the desire of the unknown dedicant to give full expression to his pantheistic devotion to that divinity which showed itself everywhere under manifold forms and names.⁵⁸

There remains one inscription from Valentia: 2. 5127. Deo aeterno | sacrum | L. Pomponius | Fundanus | cum suis

⁵⁷ Wissowa, *Religion u. Kultus*, p. 77, n. 4, and the literature there quoted.

⁵⁸ Cf. the familiar passages in Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, xi. 2, 5.

omni|bus votum l. a. | solvit. Cumont has made it very probable⁵⁹ that we are to see in the *deus aeternus*, to whom numerous dedications have been found especially in Dacia, some one of the Syrian Baalim. Since these Baalim were regarded as sun-gods, it is likely that this dedication belongs with the Mithraic inscriptions as much as many of the dedications to Sol, but I have hesitated to place it among them.

The foregoing detailed examination shows the way in which oriental cults penetrated to the remoter parts of the Roman Empire, as can be abundantly illustrated also by every Roman frontier in western Europe.⁶⁰ But there is this difference between the British and Germanic frontiers, for example, and Spain, that in case of the former the soldiers were the most important agents in spreading and continuing these oriental cults, while in Spain, as has been already pointed out, nearly all the dedicants were civilians of apparently humble station. This fact accords with the history and condition of the Spanish provinces under Roman rule, for the greater part of the peninsula was so early subjugated that its life was civil rather than military.⁶¹

If we except the dedication apparently made to *Hercules Invictus* by Tiberius Cæsar in 14 A.D. at Tucci (2. 1660), the other datable inscriptions fall within the second and third centuries of our era, the extremes being 108 A.D. (2. 179) and 238 A.D. (2. 5521). This agrees with the conditions in the other European provinces,⁶² in all of which the dedications to the oriental gods seem to cease with the third century.⁶³

Although the sum total of the evidence is sufficient to show that the eastern gods had considerable vogue in Spain, it will have been observed that the data are widely scattered and prove the cult of more than a single divinity in only a few of the larger towns. The following table exhibits these:

⁵⁹ Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopædie*, 1. 696 f.

⁶⁰ For the British frontier see *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 11. 48-58; for the German, *Trans. of the Am. Phil. Assn.*, 33. 109-150.

⁶¹ Cf. *Trans. of the Am. Phil. Assn.*, 33. 111 ff.

⁶² For Gaul and the Germanies, see *Trans. Am. Phil. Assn.*, *l.c.*

⁶³ The chronology of oriental cults in the west has been fully treated by Dr. D. N. Robinson in a dissertation which I hope will soon be published. Vide *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 22. 182 f. (1911).

Lusitania.

Olisipo. *Magna Mater*, 2. 178, 179. *Sol et Luna*, 2. 258, 259.

Emerita. *Magna Mater*, 2. 5260. *Mithras*, *Rev. Arch.*, 5. (1905) p. 327. 24, 25, 26.

Capera. *Magna Mater*, 2. 805. *Sol Invictus*, 2. 807.

Tarraconensis.

Tarraco. *Caelestis*, 2. 4310. *Isis*, 2. 4080. *Mithras*, 2. 4086.

Valentia. I. O. M. Ammon, 2. 3729. *Isis*, 2. 3730, 3731. *Deus Aeternus*, 2. 5127.

Asturica. *Isis*, 2. 5665. *Sol Invictus*, 2. 2634.

Of course we have only a mere fragment of the evidence which once existed, so that such tables as these have little quantitative value, but on the whole, after all allowances have been made, they have a certain significance as illustrating the variety of religious life in these cities.

No city of *Bætica* appears in this table. This is probably the result mainly of chance, but the question certainly arises whether chance may not have been aided by Christian influence. The oldest Christian communities in Spain known to us were found at *Cæsar Augusta* (*Saragossa*), *Astorica*, *Leon*, and *Emerita*,⁶⁴ but Christianity must have had a much wider foothold than this, for about the year 300 no less than thirty-seven bishops and presbyters attended the council at *Elvira* (*Granada*);⁶⁵ of these twenty-three represented Christian communities in *Bætica*.

In the other Spanish provinces Christianity was relatively weak, and it is interesting to note that of the places in *Lusitania* which, as shown in the table given above, offer proof of the existence of more than one oriental cult, only *Emerita* was certainly a bishopric in the period under discussion, and only *Asturica* among the three cities of *Tarraconensis*; it

⁶⁴ Cyprian, *Ep.* 67.

⁶⁵ Cf. Duchesne, *Le concile d'Elvire et les flamines chrétiens*, 1886; Harnack, *Mission u. Ausbreitung des Christentums*, 2. 255-262 (2d ed.), on the history of Spanish Christianity in the first three centuries.

seems strange that Tarraco did not possess a bishop, but there is no evidence that such was the case. Of the conflict between oriental cults and Christianity we hear nothing directly during these centuries, but the paucity of our data from Bætica may be an indirect evidence of the struggle.

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THE CONSECRATED WOMEN OF THE HAMMURABI CODE

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THE Hammurabi Code is devoted strictly to civil, secular affairs. Several of its laws make mention of the god, the temple, and the religious devotee, never, however, as prime objects of legislation. When religious characters and institutions are mentioned at all, it is on account of their relation to the civil, social topics considered by the legislator.¹ Though Hammurabi was deeply devoted to religion, as appears in the prologue and the epilogue to the Code, no feature of the Code itself is clearer than that its material and aims are entirely secular.

The religious characters named in the Code are certain classes of devotees, all of whom are women. The laws relating to this subject are not grouped together, as naturally would be the case, if the devotees had been thought of as one of the topics of legislation, but are scattered, singly or in small groups, through the Code.² The list, with the

¹ See an article on *The Structure of the Hammurabi Code*, in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 25. 248 ff. (1904).

² Various other subjects are similarly broken up and scattered. This has led some students to the conclusion that there is no sustained coherency or system in the Code. Others find system, indeed, but only of an artificial kind, arrived at by laying on the Code a framework of their own devising. I refer here in particular to Professor J. Kohler of Berlin, who has given much attention to the interpretation of the Code. In the article referred to under note ¹ I criticised the analysis of the Code given by him and Peiser. In a brief rejoinder, *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, 3. 221 f. (1909), the criticism is rejected. I can hardly think that the grounds of it were clearly understood. My analysis shows that the laws are very carefully arranged under the two heads Property and Person, that each of these has three subheads, and each subhead still smaller divisions, down to the individual laws. The proof of the correctness of this scheme is to read the Code with this analysis in hand. The analysis ascribed to me in the work just cited is something quite different.

subject of the respective laws, is here appended. It shows that the devotees are introduced in sixteen laws, which appear in seven different connections in the Code.

NUMBER AND SUBJECT OF THE LAWS

- 40. Sale of Real Estate.
- 110. Wine Shops.
- 127. Slander.
- 137. Divorce.³
- 144-147. Rights of Women.
- 178-182. Inheritance.
- 187, 192, 193. Adoption of Children.

The object of this paper is to inquire into the character and standing of these devotees, whom from other sources we know to have been numerous and in certain cases wealthy and influential. Regarding their religious functions, the Code, concerning itself entirely with matters of a secular nature, gives us no information.

Several classes of these women appear in the Code, but the distinctions between them are not clearly understood. The class occurring most frequently⁴ is represented by a sign which seems to be composed of two others, SAL and ME or SAL and DINGIR. The first, SAL, is the regular sign for woman, *sinništu*. If the second be DINGIR, the compound would naturally mean the woman of a god, a consecrated woman. That the combination indicates such a woman is beyond question. It is often followed in the contemporary records by the name of the god to whom the SAL-ME is devoted. In the Code itself we find the SAL-ME of Marduk (182), and also the SAL-ME of the convent (180). Several students have translated the two signs by 'priestess,' but this seems to me too definite. The rendering, 'votary,' is

³ In 137 and 144-147 several scholars translate the sign which represents one of these classes of devotees as if it were the ordinary sign for woman, and seem, therefore, to consider that the laws in question are concerned with ordinary wives. But while the stonecutter has made an occasional mistake, it is in the highest degree improbable that he should have done this in regard to the same word in several successive laws.

⁴ §§ 40, 110, 137, 144, 145, 146, 178, 179, 181.

here chosen as the vaguer term, but is meant to be only provisional.

Another class⁵ is represented by the signs NIN DINGIR, the second of which means a god, and the first, 'lady' or 'sister.' In the syllabaries this combination is explained as *entum*. A third is written ZI IK RU UM.⁶

Whether this is to be pronounced *zikrum*, as written, or is to be taken as an ideogram, is, as Kohler and Ungnad have pointed out,⁷ uncertain. Most students have taken the writing as syllabic, and have connected the word with a common Assyrian word meaning 'male.' It is in all the occurrences preceded by the sign SAL, i.e. *sinništu*, 'woman.' The combination may be read *sinništu zikrum*, which would mean 'woman who is a *zikrum*,' or the first word might be taken as construct, as has been almost universally done, and translated 'woman of the male.' Construing thus, it has been the rule to see in the *zikrum* a woman of low morals. Whether there is any ground for this view beyond an uncertain etymology and an uncertain translation of the laws in which the name *zikrum* occurs, will appear, I hope, as this inquiry proceeds.

A fourth class, the NU GIG or *ḫadištu*, occurs but once (181), as does also a fifth, the NU BAR or *zermāšitum* (181). As understood by most interpreters, the *ḫadištu* has shared the evil renown of the *zikrum*.

This enumeration shows that there are five classes of these consecrated women mentioned in the Code, or seven if we reckon three varieties of votary, the votary in general (SAL ME), the votary of Marduk, and the votary of the convent.

In the first half of the Code our subject is mentioned but twice, 40, 110. Paragraph 40 is in the section dealing with the alienation of one's ownership in State lands. In the paragraphs preceding we learn that certain classes of men (the *redu* and the *ba'iru*) could not sell field, orchard, or house, 36. These classes, together with the *naši bilti*, could not give real estate to wife or child, nor in payment

⁵ §§ 110, 127, 178, 179.

⁶ §§ 178, 179, 180, 187, 192, 193.

⁷ Hammurabi's Gesetz, 2. 134.

for debt, 38, though they might so dispose of the property which they had bought with their own means, 39. Then 40 states that the votary, the *tamkar*,^a or any other *ilku* (except, of course, the classes named in 36-38) might sell his or her field, orchard, or house. This group of laws shows that certain classes of feudal tenants, as the *redu* and the *ba'iru*, were held to a stricter usage than other classes in regard to their tenure of State lands. The reason probably is that their relations to the State were more intimate and important. They rendered military service, and may have been required to live on inalienable State lands, that they might be always ready for such service. Greater freedom was enjoyed by the votary and other classes whose relation to the State was less intimate, and their functions less important.

The second reference (110) is in a section of four laws regulating the sale of liquor. The liquor traffic seems to have been in the hands of women. In 108 it is decreed that the wineseller who deviates from the relative values of drink (*šikarī*) and grain shall be thrown into the water (drowned). In 109 if criminals congregate at her house, and she does not seize them and lead them to the *ekallim*, 'palace, police station' (?), she shall be put to death. According to 110 the votary or sister of a god, "not living in the convent, who shall open a wine shop or shall enter one to drink, shall be burned." The last law in the series prescribes how much grain shall be paid at harvest time for wine sold on credit (111).

This group of laws shows that the drinking places of the time stood in bad repute. The women engaged in the business seem to have been unscrupulous, and their shops were the resort of evil doers. No votary might engage in this business or even enter one of the resorts for the purchase of drink.

The phrase of 110, "not living in the convent," shows

^a The *tamkar* is a class of business men or merchants. Elsewhere in the Code they appear as making advances of money or goods to the small dealer (100-107), and as visiting foreign lands for purposes of trade (281). *Ilku* is the term for the feudal relation, or, as in the present instance, for the feudal tenant. This feudal relation included the *redu*, *ba'iru*, *naši bilti*, votary, *tamkar*, and other classes.

that the votaries lived part of the time in the convent and part of the time out of it, or that some of them lived in the convent, while others did not. It is probable that all of them passed through a period of such residence. Those residing in the convent would naturally be so guarded and occupied that there would be no opportunity to keep or to frequent wine shops. On the other hand, their sisters not thus protected, but living in their own homes and leading active lives of business, might be tempted to engage in the liquor traffic, or to endanger their reputation by visiting the wine shops.

The first topic in the second half of the Code is the Family; the first division concerns Man and Wife, and the first law (127) provides for the protection of the reputation of woman. "If a man point the finger (of suspicion) at the sister of a god or at the wife of a man, and do not establish (the charge), that man shall be haled before the judges, and his hair (?) shall be cut off," that is, he shall be sold into slavery. The sister of a god is here mentioned before the wife of a man, in accordance with the principle that when the same law mentions sacred and secular things, the Code always names the sacred things first. This law demands that the fair name of the religious devotee shall have the same protection as that of a man's wife.

The sacred women appear next in a law regulating divorce, 137. "If a man set his face to divorce a secondary wife who has borne him children or a votary who has caused him to have (*uṣarṣu*) children, unto that woman shall be returned her dowry (*ṣeriktu*), and there shall be given to her a portion(?) of field, orchard, and possessions, and she shall rear the children. After she has reared the children there shall be given to her from the property which was given for her children a share equal to the share of one child, and the man of her choice may marry her."

In this law the secondary wife 'bears' children to her husband, while the votary 'provides' him with children. This provision might be made not necessarily by bearing, but equally well by giving to her husband a slave wife (see 146, 147), and probably also by adoption. It is noteworthy that

the Code does not use the verb 'to bear' at all in connection with the votary wife, a topic to which I shall return later. The law which we are now considering gives the children to the divorced mother, with enough of the paternal property to provide for their rearing. On their reaching maturity what remained of this property was divided among them, the mother receiving the same as one child. She was then free to remarry, or rather "the man of her heart" might marry her, for in the Code the man always takes the wife, never *vice versa*. A widow was, under certain restrictions, allowed to remarry while there were still minor children, as we learn from 177. The divorced wife was required first to rear the children.

The rights of wives is the subject of 144-150, and the votary wife figures in four of the laws, 144-147. Her rights are defined, especially in her relations to secondary wives and slave wives. The legislation is as follows:

1. "If a man marry a votary, and that votary give a maid to her husband, and cause him to have (*uštābši*) children, and that man set his face to take a secondary wife, they shall not favor it, he shall not take a secondary wife," 144.

2. "If a man marry a votary, and she have not caused him to have children, and he set his face to take a secondary wife, that man may take a secondary wife (and) may bring her into his house, but this secondary wife shall not make herself the equal of the votary," 145.

3. "If a man marry a votary, and she give a maid to her husband, and that maid bear children, and afterwards make herself the equal of her mistress because she has borne children, her mistress shall not sell her for money; she may reduce her to servitude, and reckon her with the maidservants," 146. That is, the votary wife institutes the relation between her husband and her maid, and she has the power to break that relation. Every married man has a right to children, and the votary wife provides the possibility of children by giving a slave wife to her husband.

4. "If she have not borne children, her mistress may sell her for money," 147. That is, of course, in case of insubordination or self-exaltation.

This group of laws insures the votary wife against the presence of a secondary wife in the family, if the votary has provided the means of family increase by giving a slave wife to her husband. If no such provision has been made, the man may take a secondary wife, but the latter shall not be equal in rank to the votary wife. If the slave wife, on bearing children, make herself the equal of the votary wife, she may be put to service again. If she has not borne children, she may be sold for her presumption. The position of the votary wife in the family is at all times to be superior to that of the secondary wife or the slave wife.

It may seem surprising that similar provisions are not made in behalf of the *hirtu*, the regular, normal wife, who was married at an early age. But inasmuch as barrenness of such wives was probably rare, there would be little need of such legislation; whereas, if, as seems to be the case, the votary wife did not ordinarily bear children, there would be special need of legislation to protect her position in the family. As votary, too, she doubtless enjoyed an additional natural right to a position of honor.

The next appearance of these devotees is in the midst of a long section dealing with the inheritance rights of children. Among these children the maidens consecrated to religion form a special group, 178-182, and all the classes mentioned in the Code occur in this group, the sister of a god, the votary, votary of the convent, votary of Marduk, the *zikrum*, the *kadištu*, and the *zemašitum*.

From 178, 179 we learn the rights of consecrated daughters in regard to the disposition of gift or dowry made to them by their fathers. In 178 the daughter enjoys the income of her dowry, but on her death this dowry reverts to her brothers. In 179 she is at liberty to dispose of it as she will on her death.

178. "If a sister of a god, a votary, or a *zikrum*, whose father has given her a dowry, has written for her a tablet (and) in the tablet which he has written for her has not written that she may dispose as she pleases of the property which she leaves behind, and (thus) has not given to her liberty of action, — after the death of her father her brothers shall take her field and her orchard, and according to the

yield of her share shall give to her grain, oil, and wool, and shall satisfy her.

"If her brothers do not give to her grain, oil, and wool, according to the yield of her share, and do not satisfy her, she may give her field and her orchard to a cultivator of her choice, and her cultivator shall support her.

"The use of field, orchard, and whatsoever her father gave her she shall enjoy so long as she lives, (but) she may not dispose of it for money, and to another she may not transfer it. Her inheritance (*i.e.* at her death) belongs to her brothers."

This law shows that the consecrated daughter, while enjoying the income, does not normally have the care of her property. The father sets aside for her certain properties, and, as it seems, cares for it himself during his lifetime, and sends her the proceeds. Then the brothers take the father's place in the care of the property, but she may set them aside for another if she choose.

The next law differs in but one essential point. The gift is unconditional, and the daughter has complete freedom as testatrix.

179. "If a sister of a god, a votary, or a *zikrum*, whose father has given her a dowry, has written for her a sealed tablet, (and) in the tablet which he has written for her has written that she may dispose as she pleases of the property which she leaves behind, and (thus) has given her liberty of action, — after the death of her father she may give the property which she leaves as she may choose. Her brothers have no claim upon her."

In this case it seems probable that the gift was outright, and that the daughter made her own arrangements regarding the care of the property and the payment of the income. Whether she could part with it during her lifetime depends on the translation of the word *warkaza*. I have rendered this word by 'the property which she leaves,' but it might equally well be rendered 'the property which is left to her.' In view of the frequency of the transfer of property by consecrated women, as seen in the contemporary business records, the second rendering might seem preferable.

The next three laws of this group make provision for those consecrated daughters to whom the father has not given a dowry. In 180 the classes named are the votary of the convent and the *zikrum*.

180. "If a father has not given a dowry to his daughter, a votary of the convent or a *zikrum*, after the death of the father she shall inherit from the paternal estate a portion equal to that of a son, and shall enjoy the use of it so long as she lives. After her death it belongs to her brothers."

181. "If a father has dedicated to a god (his daughter) as votary, *ḫadištu*, or *zermašitum*, and has not given her a dowry, after the death of the father she shall inherit from the paternal estate one third of the portion of a son, and shall enjoy the use of it so long as she lives. After her death it belongs to her brothers."

Why the daughters of 181 receive less than those of 180 is not apparent, as it perhaps would be if we understood the difference between the classes themselves. Those of 181 may have been of lower rank, or may have enjoyed other sources of income. The contrast in these two laws seems not to be between the votary of the convent and the *zikrum* (180) on the one side, and the votary, *ḫadištu* and *zermašitum* (181), on the other, but in 181 'votary' seems to be a more general term, embracing the *ḫadištu* and the *zermašitum*. If this be so, the translation of 181 should read, "If a father has dedicated to a god his daughter as votary, be it as *ḫadištu* or as *zermašitum*," and so forth.

The last law in this series (182) relates to the votary of Marduk of Babylon who has not been provided for by her father. On his death she receives the same share of the estate as the daughters provided for in the law just considered. But there are two differences. It is expressly stated that she does not have the care of the property, and on her death her share does not revert to her brothers. Her station as votary of the chief god of Babylon must have been one of great honor. Why, then, does she receive less than some of the other consecrated women? There may have been for her also, as just suggested for the classes named in 181, sources of income connected with her office which made a larger portion of the paternal estate unneces-

sary. Such a source would be the large endowments of the temple of Marduk at Babylon.

The law reads as follows: "If a father has not given a dowry to his daughter, a votary of Marduk of Babylon, and has not written for her a sealed tablet, after the death of the father she shall inherit with her brothers from the paternal estate one third of a son's portion, but she shall not have the management thereof. The votary of Marduk on her death may give (her property) to whomsoever she please."

The votaries of Marduk seem to have led a more secluded life than the votaries of the sun god. The latter, at all events, are more prominent in the business transactions of the time, but this may result from their being more numerous, and thus appearing more frequently in the records.

The word for dowry in this group of laws (178-182) is *šeriktu*, and is the same word that is used for a paternal gift to a daughter entering real marriage. Consecration is viewed as a marriage of the maiden to a god.

It has already been remarked that the term *SAL ME*, 'votary,' may be a general and not a special title. The same may be the case with the term *NIN DINGIR*, 'sister of a god.' The word *zikrum* has been variously rendered by students of the Code; as 'femme publique' by Scheil,⁹ 'hure(?)' by Kohler and Peiser,¹⁰ 'buhldirne' by Winckler,¹¹ 'courtesan' by Cook,¹² 'hure(?)' by Kohler and Ungnad,¹³ and 'femme-mâle' by Dhorme.¹⁴ These renderings probably take the word *zikrum* as meaning 'male, man,' and the sign *SAL*, 'woman,' which precedes it as in the construct relation, and thus get 'woman of the man,' in the sense of 'prostitute.' But *SAL* may be determinative, in which case *zikrum* cannot mean 'man,' but is the name of this class of women. If we were sure that the first two consonants in the word were *z* and *k*, we might connect

⁹ V. Scheil, *La Loi de Hammourabi*, 2d ed., Paris, 1904, p. 38.

¹⁰ *Hammurabi's Gesetze*, 1. 53.

¹¹ Hugo Winckler, *Die Gesetze Hammurabis*, Leipzig, 1904, pp. 52 f.

¹² S. A. Cook, *The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi*, London, 1903, p. 148.

¹³ *Hammurabi's Gesetze*, 2. 134.

¹⁴ Paul Dhorme, *La Religion Assyro-Babylonienne*, Paris, 1910, p. 300.

it with the very common Assyrian stem *zkr* meaning 'to say, speak, mention.'

If a particular convent is meant in the name, 'votary of the convent,' it may have been one connected with the worship of the sun, Šamaš. The convent, *gagum*, is occasionally mentioned in the records of business transactions, and in such a way as to indicate that it was a Šamaš establishment. It seems to have been a place of considerable extent, and at its great gate payments were sometimes made.¹⁵

So far as appears from this particular group of laws (179-182), these consecrated women were expected to live the celibate life, and we have already seen that the reputation for chastity of a 'sister of a god' was no less sacred than that of a married woman, 127. But from another group of laws we have seen that there is provision for the marriage of votaries, 137, 144-147. How can the two groups be reconciled? The difference hardly lies in the difference of class between the sister of a god and the votary. It may well be that the office of the consecrated women was not in all cases lifelong, though the title may have been. And it may be that these women, when they married at all, married as a rule late in life after the age of childbearing had passed.

It is, at least, worthy of note that there is not in the Code any mention of children by a 'votary,' nor indeed by a member of any class of these consecrated women with the possible exception of the *zikrum*, which will be discussed below. In the marriage laws in which the votary figures it seems to be assumed that she does not bear. The specific word for bearing, *alādu*, is never applied to her, though it is used about twenty times of other classes of wife (*aššatu*, *ḫirtu*, the secondary wife, and the widow who has married again). The votary wife 'causes her husband to have' children (*ušarši*, *uštābši*). Thus, in paragraph 137 (p. 345, above) the secondary wife has borne children to her husband (*uldu*), while the votary has caused him to have children (*ušaršu*; cf. also 145, *ušarši*). Similarly, in 144 a votary wife gives

¹⁵ In Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, 8. 44 (= Bu. 88-5-12, 233), rent is to be paid to a votary of Šamaš in the gate of the convent.

to her husband a slave wife, and thus causes him to have children (*uštābši*). This consistent difference in the use of terms can hardly be accidental, and the conclusion seems natural that, as a rule at least, the votary wife was barren. If, as already suggested, her marriage was late in life, the reason for this barrenness will be understood.¹⁶ That barrenness always followed the marriage of a votary was, however, probably not the case. There is at least one marriage of a Marduk votary recorded with the mention of children. See p. 357 f., below.

After the passages thus far examined relating to consecrated women, only the *zikrum* is mentioned again in the Code. In the section treating of the adoption of children (185-193) she appears three times. In this section the general law of adoption is first stated. "If a man has adopted a child in his own name, and has reared it, that child (*tarbitum*)¹⁷ may not be reclaimed," i.e. of course, by his real parents, 185. This is followed by a law contemplating the return of an adopted child. "If a man has adopted a child, (and) at the time of adopting him has coerced (?) his father and his mother, that child (*tarbitum*) shall return to his father's house," 186.

Then follows the law, 187, "The child of a *manzaz panim*,

¹⁶ C. H. W. Johns has also noted the absence of children from the marriage of votaries, and finds its explanation in the theory of perpetual virginity, Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible, 5. 591, No. 2. This extraordinary view could not be accepted without the strongest support. The proof passage seems to be Cuneiform Texts, 2. 34, referred to by Johns in his Babylonian and Assyrian Laws, Contracts and Letters, p. 187, thus: "Very singular are the cases in which a votary marries. We know from the code that this sometimes took place; but the votary seems to have been expected, though married, to keep her vow of virginity. In one case we read that a woman first devotes her daughter *ullilši*, then marries her, and declares at the same time that she is vowed, *ellit*, and that no one has any claim on her."

It is on the last expression that Johns seems to found his argument for perpetual virginity. The expression does not mean, however, that the woman is not to be in the full sense of the word a wife, but that no outsider has any claim on the bride for service, there is no debt resting on her, or something of that kind. The expression is of frequent occurrence, and in passages which leave no doubt as to its general meaning, as Cuneiform Texts, 2. 36; 4. 42; 8. 7.

The suggestion of perpetual virginity was made by Johns in an earlier article in the American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, 19. 96-107, especially p. 104. This excellent article expresses the same favorable opinion of the consecrated women as that which is defended in the present paper.

¹⁷ *Tarbitum* in 185 and 186 designates the child as reared, or as adopted for rearing.

a *muzaz ekallim*, and the child of a *zikrum* may not be reclaimed." The *manzaz panim* is a high dignitary or official, and the *zikrum* is the consecrated woman whom we have already met three times in the Code. Much depends on the proper understanding of this passage. Is the meaning this, that a child born to a *manzaz panim* or to a *zikrum*, and adopted by some other person, may not be reclaimed by its real parent? Or this, that if a *manzaz panim* or a *zikrum* has adopted a child, its real parent may not reclaim it?

Either view is possible, and some of the translations preserve the ambiguity of the original. Thus Harper: "One may not bring claim for the son of a *NER.SE.GA*, who is a palace guard, or the son of a devotee."¹⁸ Kohler and Peiser are quite as ambiguous,¹⁹ and also Scheil,²⁰ who renders: "L'enfant d'un favori, familier du palais, ou celui d'une femme publique ne peut être réclamé." In another point Kohler and Peiser agree with Scheil, namely, in giving a bad name to the *zikrum*. To the latter she is a 'femme publique,' and to the former a 'hure.' Winckler renders: "Der Sohn eines Buhlen im Palastdienste, und der Sohn einer Buhldirne kann nicht abverlangt werden."²¹ In a note he asks: "Ist hiernach anzunehmen, dass Kinder von Buhle und Buhldirne als *likû* (s. zu 15a, 62) in den Palast kommen, um dort zu dienen, also dem König gehören?" This language seems to imply that the children are the real offspring of the classes named. Müller goes yet further, with the statement that the largest share of adopted children came from such parents as might according to the law beget and bear children, but not own them ("die nach dem Gesetze wohl Kinder zeugen und gebären, aber keine haben durften").²² Johns understands that "if a man wished to adopt the child of a votary, he could do so, and there was no legal representative to claim the child from him. In other words, the votary had no legal power over

¹⁸ Robert F. Harper, *The Code of Hammurabi*, Chicago, 1904, p. 71.

¹⁹ *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, 1. 56. That the *zikrum* is in their view engaged in official prostitution, however, appears from p. 109. ²⁰ *La Loi de Hammourabi*, p. 39.

²¹ *Die Gesetze Hammurabis*, pp. 56 f.

²² D. H. Müller, *Die Gesetze Hammurabis*, p. 145.

her child."²³ But if a consecrated woman might adopt children, as we shall soon see was the case, why might she not also hold her own children? See below, p. 358.

The next four laws do not mention the *zikrum*. They are in substance as follows:

188. If an artisan adopt a child and teach him a handicraft, that child may not be reclaimed.

189. If he do not so teach him, the child may return to his real father's house.

190. If a man adopt a child and rear him, and do not make him the equal of his own sons, that child may return to his father's house.

191. This law gives the conditions under which an adopted son may be sent away. He shall not go empty handed, but shall receive one third of a son's share, and may then be dismissed.

Then come two laws in which the *zikrum* appears again.

192. "If the son of a *manzaz panim* or the son of a *zikrum* say to the father who has reared him or to the mother who has reared him, Thou art not my father, Thou art not my mother, his tongue shall be cut out."

193. "If the son of a *manzaz panim* or the son of a *zikrum* learn of his father's house, and despise(?) the father who reared him or the mother who reared him, and go to his father's house, his eye shall be put out."

The offence in 192 is denial of sonship to the adopting parent, and that in 193 is running away and returning to one's real father.

It is a matter of consequence to determine whether the *zikrum* is the woman who bears or the woman who adopts the child, because on the answer will depend one's view of her character. Nearly or quite all translators have assumed that she is the real mother, and that she is unmarried, and hence that she is a low character. Dhorme, for instance, calls her the "*femme-mâle qui se prostitue à tout venant*."²⁴ Now, in opposition to this view several considerations may be urged.

²³ C. H. W. Johns, in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, 19. 103.

²⁴ *La Religion Assyro-Babylonienne*, p. 300 f.

1. In the contemporary records we occasionally meet with accounts of the adoption of children by consecrated women.²⁵

2. In the three laws now under examination (187, 192, 193) the *zikrum* is mentioned with the *manzaz panim*, who was a high official. It seems not likely that the children of such official would be given to another person. But if he be the adopting parent in these laws, the same must hold of the *zikrum*.

3. The law in 193 says, "If the son of a *manzaz panim* or the son of a *zikrum* learn of his *father's* house, and despise (?) the father who reared him, or the mother who reared him, and go to his *father's* house, his eye shall be put out." If the *zikrum* be the real and not the adopting mother, why does not the law say 'learn of his father's house or his *mother's* house,' and, 'go to his father's house or his *mother's* house'? "Learn of his father's house," "go to his father's house," might be said of the *manzaz panim*, but not of the *zikrum*, unless the latter be married, in which case she is not the degraded creature which the translations make her.

4. In 178 and 179 the *zikrum* is named with the sister of the god and the votary, and in 180 with the votary of the convent. She seems to stand on an equal footing with these before the law. Her dowry rights are as carefully defined as theirs.

5. The *zikrum* of 180 receives three times as large a share of her father's estate as does the votary of Marduk in 182. This would hardly be so if she were greatly inferior in character to a Marduk votary.

It seems to me probable that the *zikrum* spoken of in these laws was not married, and certain that she was the adopting and not the real mother. What the ancient Babylonians understood by these laws would therefore be as follows.

192. If a child adopted by a *manzaz panim* or by a *zikrum* say to the father or to the mother who has reared him, Thou art not my father, Thou art not my mother, his tongue shall be cut out.

193. If a child adopted by a *manzaz panim* or by a *zikrum* learn of the house of his real father, and despise (?) the father

²⁵ See below, p. 358.

who has reared him or the mother who has reared him, and go thither, his eye shall be put out.

In the light of this exposition No. 187 may be paraphrased thus: A child adopted by a *manzaz panim*, a *muzaz* of the palace, or a child adopted by a *zikrum*, may not be reclaimed by its real parent.

One is tempted to speculate as to the reason of this, but such speculation would have as little value as the reasons advanced to account for the law by those who understand that the *zikrum* is the real mother.

We have now passed in review the seven passages of the Code, covering sixteen laws, touching on the subject of consecrated women. Under whatever designation these women appear, as votary, votary of the convent, votary of Marduk of Babylon, sister of a god, *zikrum*, *ḫadištu*, *zermāšitum*, they are always spoken of with respect. The lawgiver meant to protect their good name and to define their rights in respect to the great topics with which the Code connects them, namely, sale of land, wine shops, slander, divorce, marital rights, inheritance, and adoption of children.

If this argument is correct, the Code of Hammurabi furnishes no basis for an indictment of any class of these consecrated women.

Except in one or two details,²⁶ Johns has given a correct and comprehensive, though brief, report of the subject. "Nowhere in the Code," he writes,²⁷ "or elsewhere is there any trace of the evil reputation which Greek writers assign to these ladies, and the translations which make them prostitutes, or unchaste, are not to be accepted." But even Johns understands that the *zikrum* of 193 is the real and not the adopting mother. "If she broke her vow and had children, they were not recognized as in her power; they could be adopted by any one without her having power to claim them back." Most improbable! Slander of a sister of a god was severely punished, 127. We should expect that a lapse from chastity by one of these consecrated women, if

²⁶ The chief of these exceptions is the statement, already noted, p. 352, above, that votaries who married remained virgins.

²⁷ Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible, 5. 591.

known, would be punished as severely as the lapse of a married woman; in other words, by death, 129.

One wishes that the lawgiver had told us something of the religious functions of these women. But of this he gives not a trace. His eye was firmly fixed, as we have seen, on civil not religious ends, and dedicated women are mentioned not for their own sake, nor for the sake of religion, but because they are a special class in the community, and have important relations to the great themes of the Code.

The best commentary on the Code is the mass of contemporary records of private and social transactions. Many hundreds of these from the collections in the museums of London, Paris, Berlin, Constantinople, and Philadelphia have now been published. These records give us a rich picture of the social conditions during the times of the Hammurabi dynasty.²⁸

In this picture nothing is more noticeable than the prominence of the consecrated women with whom the Code has made us familiar. Here we meet not only the votary of Marduk,²⁹ but also the votary of Ninib,³⁰ and with extraordinary frequency the votary of Šamaš. We meet also the sister of the god Šuzianna,³¹ the votary of Zamama,³² the *ḫadištu* of Adad,³³ and the *zemašitum*.³⁴ This list makes it probable that each of the great gods had a class of women consecrated to him.

Occasional evidence of the marriage of one of these women occurs. Thus, Lamazatum, who is both votary of Marduk

²⁸ Kohler and Ungnad, in volumes 3-5 of their *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, Leipzig, 1909-1911, have done a great service in making some fourteen hundred of the most interesting among them accessible to a larger circle of readers in German translation.

²⁹ Cuneiform Texts, 8. 8 (= Bu. 91-5-9, 2484); 8. 26 (= Bu. 88-5-12, 42); Thureau-Dangin, *Lettres et Contrats*, Paris, 1910, Nos. 147, 157.

³⁰ Arno Poebel, *Babylonian Legal and Business Documents from the Time of the First Dynasty of Babylon*, Philadelphia, 1909, Nos. 6, 31, and 45.

³¹ Poebel, No. 8.

³² Thureau-Dangin, *Lettres et Contrats*, No. 157.

³³ Thureau-Dangin, No. 146. See also Cuneiform Texts, 6. 42 (= Bu. 91-5-9, 2470), where a *ḫadištu*, named Erištum, and her sister, a votary of Šamaš, divide an inheritance.

³⁴ Cuneiform Texts, 8. 34 (= Bu. 88-5-12, 10). Cf. Cuneiform Texts, 8. 8 (= Bu. 91-5-9, 2484), where we read that Haliatum, another Marduk votary, had a daughter named Iltani.

and *zermāšitum*, marries, and it is agreed that her children are to be her heirs.³⁴ Another Marduk votary and her husband adopt a son, and the record makes the provision that if they should get children, the adopted son should always be recognized as eldest brother.³⁵ There is mention of the marriage of a *zermāšitum* named Labazi.³⁶ The children of votaries are also adopted by others. Thus, a man and his wife adopt the son of Huzalatum, votary of Šamaš.³⁷ In another record Amat-Šamaš, a Šamaš votary, gives her daughter in marriage, and receives from the groom five shekels of silver.³⁸ In neither of the cases just cited is any father named. But we may be sure either that the votaries were or had been married, or that the daughters were such by adoption. Zamidum, a *kadištu* of the god Adad, adopts the daughter of Iabliatum, with the privilege of selling the child in case it should renounce the adopting mother.³⁹ A Šamaš votary, named Amat-Šamaš, gives in marriage to her brother her daughter, apparently an adopted daughter, with the provision that so long as the giver lives the brother shall support her.⁴⁰ Such a provision is common in records of adoption, and shows that one of the objects in the adoption of children was to make sure of a support in one's old age.

But the greatest activity of these women appears in business transactions, including all forms of trading in real estate, produce, money, and slaves. They divide the paternal property with their brothers, and are parties to lawsuits both as plaintiff and as defendant. Some of them are wealthy and of high station. Babilitum, a votary of Šamaš, who brings successful suit against her three brothers to recover her share in the estate of their father, receives as her portion ten slaves, besides other property.⁴¹ But the lady of highest

³⁴ Bruno Meissner, *Beiträge zum Altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, Leipzig, 1893, No. 94. ³⁵ Cuneiform Texts, 8. 16 (= Bu. 88-5-12, 33).

³⁷ H. Ranke, *Babylonian Legal and Business Documents*, Philadelphia, 1906, No. 17. ³⁸ Cuneiform Texts, 4. 39 (= Bu. 88-5-12, 617).

³⁹ Thureau-Dangin, No. 90. In Cuneiform Texts, 8. 7 (= Bu. 91-5-9, 2183), a mother consecrates two of her daughters to Šamaš with the stipulation that they shall support her so long as she lives. Another Šamaš votary gives her property to her granddaughter, by whom she is to be supported so long as she lives, Cuneiform Texts, 8. 17 (= Bu. 88-5-12, 39). ⁴⁰ Cuneiform Texts, 6. 7 (= Bu. 91-5-9, 272).

birth is a certain Iltani, a Šamaš votary, daughter of the king. Such a person is mentioned on three tablets as a lender of grain.⁴¹ These women were as a rule evidently living in their own houses. That large numbers of them were unmarried we may conclude from the circumstance that the mention of husbands is so rare. But many others doubtless were married. As married women they are less likely to be mentioned in the records, or when they are mentioned there is less probability that their position as consecrated women would also be noted.

The record cited in note ³² is of special interest, because it is a lawsuit involving several orders of consecrated women. One of these is married, and a second has a son. The story is, in brief, as follows: A certain man, named Addi-liblut, is married to a Marduk votary, named Belisunu. The latter had bought some real estate from a *kadištu*, named Iluša-ḫegal, who in turn had previously bought it from a votary of Zamama. The *kadištu* claims that she had never been paid by the Marduk votary. In the course of the story mention is made of a son of the *kadištu*, who had witnessed the sale and had affixed his seal to the tablet. The judges, after weighing the evidence on both sides, refuse the claim of Iluša-ḫegal, and decree that neither she, nor her children, nor her relations, shall ever again demand payment for the property involved in the suit. Of what god Iluša-ḫegal was a *kadištu* we are not informed, but we do know from the impression of her seal on the tablet that she was devoted to the worship of Adad and his spouse, Šala. The seal impression, which is in four lines, reads: "Iluša-ḫegal, daughter of Ea-ellatsu, worshipper of Adad and Šala."

But all this varied activity, the account of which might easily be extended to large proportions, is secular in character. What the religious functions of these women were we learn as little from the commercial and social records as from the Hammurabi Code.

It does not fall within the scope of this paper to inquire what we may learn about consecrated women from other

⁴¹ Meissner, *Beiträge*, No. 24; *Cuneiform Texts*, 8. 33 (= Bu. 91-5-9, 487); Thureau-Dangin, No. 162.

native sources. But I may at least mention that we occasionally meet with these characters in the other classes of the literature.

In the Gilgamesh Epic, for instance, Ishtar of Erech, the goddess of love, appears as wooing the hero, and as repulsed by him for her former adventures and her fickleness.⁴² She is attended by her maidens, the *harimāti* and the *šamhāti*, who are represented as lax in morals. In the same Epic the story how one of them, called both *harimtu* and *šamhat*, brought Eabani into Erech by her wiles, is related with much realistic detail.⁴³ And when Gilgamesh and Eabani slew the bull of Anu, Ishtar gathered about her the *šamhāti* and the *harimāti* and set up a lamentation over the bull.⁴⁴ Erech is called "the city of the *kizréti*, the *šamhāti*, and the *harimāti*."⁴⁵ These passages certainly indicate that there were excesses committed in connection with the worship of Ishtar of Erech. We have seen mention of a *kadīštu* of Adad. Doubtless devotees of various gods have the same title. Those of Ishtar might easily have brought the title into disrepute, since some of them at least were unchaste. But we may not therefore conclude that there was anything improper about the *kadīštu* of the Code. It would be an unwarranted assumption to identify her with Ishtar devotees, or to conclude that because some persons who bore the name were unchaste all such persons were.

In the magical literature likewise we encounter the *kadīštu* and the *zermāšitum*, as in Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, 4. 50, col. 1, lines 44-45. In the reference given the names are used as titles of the witch, who was an object of hatred and of dread. But such passages do not seem to require any modification of the impression which the Code makes as to the character of the consecrated women in whose behalf it legislates.

⁴² Tablet 6, columns 1-2. ⁴³ Tablet 1, column 4. ⁴⁴ Tablet 6, column 5.

⁴⁵ Edward J. Harper, in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, 2. 479, line 6.

FIGURINES OF SYRO-HITTITE ART

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DURING the last twenty-five years or so, various figurines have been unearthed in northern Syria and in eastern Asia Minor which are of interest from various points of view, and around which many questions cluster regarding their provenance and their significance. In Asia Minor the finds have been made as far west as Angora, as far north as Amasia, and as far south as Konia (Iconium); in Syria, at Marash, Homs, and in the Lebanon mountains. But that the extent of country covered is still greater may be seen from the fact that a mould for making such figurines which has been in the Louvre for many years is said to have come (somewhat vaguely, it is true) from Phœnicia. This is of especial interest because two of the four figurines which I propose to discuss here are said very circumstantially to have been unearthed in ancient Tyre.

I have given the name 'Syro-Hittite' to this species of art, quite conscious that this is woefully a misnomer. The term is used simply for the want of one that is better and equally comprehensive. It has been pointed out very properly that the figurines belong to various strata of civilization and to various forms of early Mediterranean art. But a number of them have been found in regions where Hittites are known to have dwelt, and the designation has, therefore, a certain ambiguous warrant. Four of them are to be found on the accompanying illustrations.

(a) The first of the four figurines is one of those said to have been dug up at Tyre. It is made of a greenish bronze, and, though the workmanship is unfinished, Greek influence is quite apparent. I think that there can be no doubt that it is in-

tended to represent the god Pan — the *αἰγοπρόσωπος καὶ τραγοσκελής*, as Herodotus (ii. 46) calls him. The goat-like legs of the figure are a sufficient indication. The face, also, shows characteristics that confirm this supposition: snub nose, protruding lips, and the long beard. Similar peculiarities are to be seen, *e.g.*, on two marble statues in the National Museum at Athens, or on the marble statue of Pan taking a thorn out of a person's foot in the Vatican collection.¹ In addition, the head is capped by a helmet, instead of the more usual truncated horns. This leads to the further supposition that the peculiar form of the god represented here is that of the *Πάν στρατιώτης*, 'Pan the shepherd-god of war.'² He seems to be pictured in the figurine either as dancing or as marching, the right leg stepping forward and the arms outstretched. What he originally held in his hands it is difficult to say — perhaps spear and buckler. But it is also possible that the figurine was used as an ornament or as a handle, and was fixed by the outstretched arms to some larger object. At the end of the spinal column there is a slight protuberance, of the meaning of which I am not quite certain, unless it be meant to represent the tail of the lower animal part of the body.

Many statuettes of the animal representation of Pan from the Roman period of classic art have come down to us; but among the many I have been unable to find any model that coincides exactly with this. From the somewhat primitive character of the workmanship I should hardly imagine that it was either purely Greek or purely Roman; but rather that it belongs to that mixed form of art which Syria at times produced under classical influence. There seems to be no mention of any worship of Pan at Tyre. But in Northern Palestine, at Banias (Panias), there did exist a grotto dedicated to Pan; and Pan is pictured on the imperial coinage of *Καυσάρεια Πανός*.³ It is possible that the figurine is another evidence of the worship of Pan in Syrian regions.

¹ The literature on these will be found cited in Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, cols. 1417, 1418.

² *Ibid.*, col. 1389.

³ Baudissin, *Studien sur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, 2. 155; Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, 2. 116 (2d ed.); Roscher, *loc. cit.*, col. 1371.



A



B

100



C



D

(b) The second figurine, made of a more bluish bronze, seems to lead us in quite a different direction. It is still attached to the lower mould on which it was made. The peculiar high head-covering makes me at once suspect Egyptian influence; for it resembles in a remarkable manner the so-called 'white crown' worn by Egyptian kings.⁴ The only covering on the body is a girdle around the waist and what appears to be a short tunic depending from it. The real position of the hands it is impossible to determine. The left one is raised; the right has been broken away; but the stump seems to show at least that it was extended. Down the back of the head-covering and the neck there is a rill which is probably nothing more than a foundry-mark.

The figurine is remarkably similar to one formerly in the collection of the Musée Napoléon and now in the Louvre. This last was found by M. Peretié at Tortosa on the Syrian coast between Tripoli and Ladikiyah. It has been reproduced by Longperier⁵ and by Perrot and Chipiez.⁶ Because of its rude workmanship, and because it was not detached from the support upon which it was cast, Perrot believes it to be very ancient: to go back, as he expresses it, "*aux débuts mêmes de l'Industrie métallurgique.*" But, though the general character of the figure is similar to the copy in the Louvre, there are some differences. The head-gear is not as straight as it is in the Louvre figurine. It seems to bend in a little and to bulge out again towards the top into a sort of bulb or knot. The orbits of the eyes are not hollow; the tunic is in one straight piece and not in three folds; and it is the left arm that is raised, not the right. Halfway down the legs of the figurine there seems to have been a break or a fault in the casting.

The question of the provenance of these two figurines has, however, been singularly complicated by the discovery in ancient Mykenian remains of statuettes in bronze that bear the closest resemblance to them. The first was found by Schliemann in 1876 at Tiryns, and is described by him as that of an "upright, beardless warrior in the act of fighting."⁷

⁴ See, e.g., Erman, *Aegypten*, pp. 95, 364, 367, 383.

⁵ Musée Napoléon, 3. 214 and plate xxi.

⁶ *Histoire de l'Art*, 3. 405.

⁷ Schliemann, *Tiryns*, N. Y. 1885, p. 116; *Mycense*, p. 14, figure 12.

The head is covered with a helmet having a very high cone-shaped top. The rest of the body is naked. The lance held in the uplifted right hand, as well as the shield fastened to the left is missing. Beneath the feet are two vertical supports, which give us exactly the depth of the double funnel through which the molten metal was run into the mould. According to Schliemann the artificers did not yet know the use of the file, and this, he says, "points to a high antiquity." Other statuettes, alike in kind, have come to light at Mykene itself;⁸ and a glance at their reproduction is enough to assure us of their similarity to the one in my possession, despite minor differences such as in the pattern of the apron or breech cloth.

(c and d). The first two of the figurines, it will be seen, bring us into connection with early classical civilization; the last two, however, seem to be the product of local artists, and might with more propriety be called Syro-Hittite. I have been unable to find out where they came from, as they were acquired at a public sale. But c reminds me very forcibly of a similar figurine found at Killiz, between Aleppo and Aintab, a few years ago, and published by Garstang in the *Annals of Archæology and Anthropology* issued by the Institute of Archæology at Liverpool (Vol. 1),⁹ and republished in his "Monuments of the Hittites."¹⁰ During his travels in Cappadocia, Chantre was able to acquire a number of such figurines, reproductions of which can be found in his work, *Mission en Cappadoce*.¹¹

(d) The fourth statuette reminds me at once of number 2; but its make is still more primitive. It has, however, the same distinctive head-dress and the large ears which are characteristic of most of these representations. That the head-dress is also characteristic may be seen by compar-

⁸ Cf. Chrestos Tsountas, *The Mycenaean Age*, Boston, 1897, p. 161; von Lichtenberg, *Einfluss der ägäischen Kultur auf Ägypten und Palästina*, in *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, Leipzig, 1911, p. 39.

⁹ Plate xiv.

¹⁰ P. 106. Cf. J. Menant, *Quelques Figurines Hétéennes en Bronze*, in *Revue Archéologique*, 26. 31 (1895). I have not been able to consult Peiser and Benzenberger's article, *Die bronze Figur von Schernen*, in the *Sitzungsberichte der Alterthumsgesellschaft Prussia*, Heft 22, referred to by Garstang. In the same category the little bronze group must be placed which was found in 1892 at Nerab near Aleppo; see Clermont-Ganneau, *Études d'archéologie Orientale*, 2. 186.

¹¹ 1898, p. 145.

ing it with the head-dress of some of the warriors and gods to be found in known Hittite remains.

In at least three of the figurines we seem to have representation of an art about which as yet we know very little. This art is, it is true, extremely primitive. The conception is raw and the execution most inferior. The artist is evidently struggling both with his material and with his art, and he must have lived entirely out of touch with the three superior civilizations around him — or at a time prior to the introduction of their influence into these parts of Asia.

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This Bibliography has been prepared by Mr. Harry Wolfson of New York. It makes no claim to completeness. And, indeed, completeness is impossible, because Professor Toy has published numerous unsigned articles, as in the *Nation* and in the *Independent* of New York, in the *Christian Register* of Boston, in the *International Journal of Ethics* of Philadelphia, and elsewhere. He was literary editor of the *Independent* for about six months before beginning his work as professor at Harvard University in 1880. Most of the unsigned articles just mentioned are book reviews. It has not been the intention to include in this Bibliography reviews, signed or unsigned, though a few have been admitted. Of signed reviews, the *New World* (1892-1900), of which Professor Toy was one of the founders and editors, contains about seventy-five from his pen. As a member of the editorial board of *The Jewish Encyclopedia* (1901-1906), he had charge of the departments of Hebrew Philology and Hellenistic Literature. He contributed to all of the twelve volumes, but most of his work was of editorial character, and is, therefore, not signed or otherwise indicated as his.

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